The Forum

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ANYONE who has studied the character of the Emperor of Germany and the character of the President of the United States must be struck by the resemblance that exists between these two leading actors on the stage of great affairs to-day. They are wonderfully alike in a great many things — in their superabundant vitality, their fearlessness, their seeming disregard for public opinion, and their many-sidedness. William of Germany knows much of statecraft, the army and navy, and politics, and not a little of art, science, and literature. President Roosevelt knows politics, books, and what many readers of many books never learn — men; his knowledge of military affairs is more comprehensive than most people give him credit for, as he has studied the art of war from the best writers of the science; and he has the knowledge of naval affairs that comes from having been at the head of the Navy Department when the roar of great guns wrote the only page in modern naval history.

There is another striking similarity between the two men. William of Prussia came to the throne as the successor of two men in whom all the world had confidence — men who stood for all that was wise, cautious, and lovable. His grandfather had died crowned by the aureole of success, having created a nation, and having emerged victorious from a campaign that amazed the world. His successor was young, virile, hasty, untrained in statecraft, intolerant of counsel, heedless of advice. He believed in himself and in his country, whose magnificent resources the world was then dimly beginning to appreciate. President Roosevelt, on his part, succeeds a man whom the world had learned to regard as

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very wise, very cautious, and very gentle in his methods of government. President McKinley, like the first German Emperor, had turned the eyes of all the world on his country by its military achievements. The world had recognized the United States as a great factor in the economic equation; the war with Spain made it understand that here was a power with such tremendous latent military possibilities that, if it cared to exert them, it could swing the balance as it chose. Not only had the United States money and resources; it had something more, that something without which money is valueless; it had the men, men who had shown their courage and intelligence, who had fought as well on land as on sea.

Mr. Roosevelt, like William, suffered at first from comparison. When President McKinley died there was a moment of fear. We can look back now and see how groundless were our fears; but at the moment they appeared very real. Wisdom was to give place to inexperience, caution to rashness, peace to war. The war with Spain had brought the United States into the front rank of the great powers, and here was a man suddenly placed at the head of affairs who, like his royal brother of Germany, believed in the sword, and longed for the opportunity to show how finely tempered was the blade. No wonder the world waited for what was next to happen.

The world is always looking for the dramatic. It forgets dialogue, but always remembers a tableau. The colonel of the Rough Riders, watching his men take their baptism of blood at Las Guasimas, leading them up San Juan hill, sharing with them the privations of the trenches in front of Santiago — that was the vivid picture people could remember of Theodore Roosevelt. They forgot that with him war was merely an incident. For a few months he had worn khaki because he had conceived it his duty to offer his sword to his country; and with that adaptability which is the sixth sense possessed by Americans, he had gone about his business of soldiering as naturally as if it were the only business he knew. But the public forgot that against his few months of military experience were the years he had spent in learning life, in studying men and affairs, and in fitting himself for government by reading and writing history. Roosevelt, the man on horseback, the beau ideal of the cavalry commander, a dashing, superb figure, one that would have delighted the heart of Carlyle, was real and vivid enough to catch the emotional crowd. Roosevelt the essayist, the biographer of Benton and Morris, the historian of the West; Roosevelt who had waged war against Tammany, who had taken a corrupt, inefficient, and brutal police force and had taught it honesty, efficiency, and decency; who had courageously made the

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civil service law a thing to be respected instead of a thing to be mocked at by designing politicians — this was the dialogue of the play, to be forgotten before the act was over; but the climax, the Man on Horseback, was to be remembered long after the curtain went down.

Once again draw the parallel between the German Emperor and the President. When William II came to the throne, one of the first things he did was to dismiss his old and tried Chancellor as indifferently as any other servant who has outlived his usefulness. William dropped his pilot overboard when all the world thought that never did ship of state need an experienced pilot so much as did Germany at that moment. It was his announcement to the world that he was his own master. It was the audacity of genius or the sublimity of ignorance, and no one then knew exactly which. Everyone knows now. The firebrand that was to set all Europe ablaze has more than once quenched the flame, and his great political sagacity is now generally admitted. Mr. Roosevelt, confronted with an equally grave emergency, forced to act almost on the spur of the moment, showed the same courage and the same wisdom.

The policy of McKinley had been accepted and endorsed by the country. Under that policy there had been prosperity and contentment: the United States was happy at home and respected abroad. Mr. Roosevelt made that policy his own; he made the men who had helped to construct that policy as the advisers of President McKinley his own advisers. This step showed not only wisdom, but courage and confidence in himself. A foolish man would have been indifferent to the delicate balance on which at that moment hinged commercial solvency, and would have tipped the scale by justifying the worst fears of the pessimistic; a timid man would have hesitated, temporized, sought counsel, and swung with the latest current of advice from selfish and interested counsellors; a man who mistrusted himself would have feared the inevitable comparison in the eyes of the cabinet between McKinley and himself; and the cabinet, being so close to the President, would have the best opportunity to weigh the living against the dead. That he did not hesitate, that at the most critical moment of his life he acted with decision and wisdom, and that he showed himself willing to accept counsel were the highest proofs he could give to the country of his sincerity, his prudence, and his understanding of the responsibilities which had come to him when he took the oath of office as President of the United States.

A few words removed all doubts. Fears were dissipated. Men trembled no longer. The pulse of commerce, that for a moment had

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been interrupted, resumed its normal beat, rhythmically registering the steady flow of capital through the arteries of business. The United States, a young giant for the moment dazed, was as sound, as healthy, as vigorous, as full of courage and ambition as ever. The morrow could be faced with hope and serenity.

The man of action, the man who does things rather than talk about them; who has courage, determination, and that tenacity of purpose which is a more valuable quality than genius; and, above all, who has character, who creates an ideal and clings to it — such a man is generally set down by his fellows as being impetuous, hasty, ill-balanced, intractable, in short, a dangerous man to place in a position of responsibility, because he is usually misunderstood. His enemies have never been able to accuse President Roosevelt of dishonesty, of petty methods, of unworthy practices; they could not charge him with being unlettered or narrow; there is no blemish on his private or public life. But they could dub him impetuous; which is a convenient but intangible charge, and requires no specification. Under analysis the accusation resolves itself into this: when he has considered it necessary to correct an abuse, when as a public officer, having a public duty to perform, he has deemed it essential to fight, he has never hesitated about taking the offensive. But he has always fought fairly. In the words of his intimate friend and warm admirer Jacob Riis, he has never "struck below the belt. In the Governor's chair afterward he gave the politicians whom he fought, and who fought him, the same terms. They tried their best to upset him, for they had nothing to expect from him. But they knew and owned that he fought fair. Their backs were secure. He never tricked them to gain an advantage. A promise given by him was always kept to the letter." It is that quality of fairness that has won him the respect of his enemies. Even while they feared and disliked him, they were forced to admit that he would take no unworthy advantage.

Run over his career and you notice at once how dangerously impetuous he has been. Typical of this "impetuosity" is the round robin he signed which was sent to the War Department. Santiago had fallen; there was no necessity for maintaining a large force in Cuba; and yet the flower of the American army, Shafter's army corps, was in the trenches before Santiago, with yellow fever hideously grinning at them. Red tape and bureaucracy were responsible. Roosevelt wanted to preserve the lives of his men, and there were two ways to do it. One was to send them to Porto Rico, for which everyone was anxious; the other was, if their services were not needed in Porto Rico, to send them home.

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Washington pottered and dawdled and talked; Roosevelt acted. The troops were sent home.

Another instance of his "impulsiveness" was when he wrote to the Secretary of War urging that the Rough Riders be sent to Porto Rico rather than the volunteers, because his regiment was "as good as any regulars, and three times as good as any state troops," who, he pointed out, "were armed with black powder, Springfields, or other archaic weapons." Malice thought there was a chance to injure him, and this letter was published in the hope that it would prejudice the volunteers against Roosevelt and damage him politically. No harm was done; on the contrary, the country liked this kind of plain talk, and agreed with him that it was folly to send troops armed with Springfields burning black powder against Spaniards armed with Mausers and smokeless powder, especially when the Rough Riders, well armed and thoroughly efficient, were eating out their hearts in disappointment because they were not permitted to take part in the campaign.

When he was elected Governor of New York his best friends feared that his impulsiveness would cause him to clash with the politicians, while his enemies were so sure that he would quarrel with everyone before he had been in the executive mansion six weeks that they scarcely took the pains to disguise their joy. As Governor he was a very "dangerous" man — dangerous to the politicians who looked upon the public service as something to be exploited for their own benefit. His "impulsiveness" in reforming the administration of the canals, in enforcing the merit system, and in securing the passage of a law taxing franchises proved how dangerous it is to put an impetuous man in a position of public responsibility: yet the people of the State of New York exhibited no undue alarm. The passage of the franchise act is typical of the man. The corporations strenuously resisted it because it made them bear their share of taxation, and they used all their political influence to induce the Governor not to press the matter. The Republican leaders warned him of the political danger he ran by incurring the hostility of great financial interests. He was uninfluenced by all this clamor; he refused to be swerved because he was threatened. But while he lived up to high principles he did not sacrifice himself. He made some enemies — no man can be Governor of New York and not make enemies — but he did not antagonize his party or drive from his side the men who were influential in party councils. He maintained his independence and showed that he possessed a natural quality of leadership.

Why President Roosevelt should be regarded as an impetuous man

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is, I confess, somewhat of a mystery to me. I have had some little opportunity of seeing him under various circumstances, and of judging whether he has acted hastily or simply with determination because he has the courage of his convictions. But one thing should not be forgotten, and that is the influence of blood, the strongest influence in forming a man's character and controlling his actions. He has in his veins the blood of a long line of Dutch ancestors, a race noted rather for their phlegm than for their impetuosity. He has the American vitality, initiative, and resourcefulness, tempered by Dutch caution; in him congenital traits are strongly marked. He is an idealist and yet intensely practical; both characteristics denoting his Dutch ancestry. The love of home and of family, the devotion to religion, the clinging with passionate vehemence to an ideal, combined with much good common sense, distinguish the Teutonic races from the Latins, whose emotions, easily aroused, are equally evanescent. The foundation of the President's character rests on this substratum of Dutch caution, a very solid foundation, on which has been builded the superstructure of American thought and American influence, which give the American the nervous energy that makes him enough like the other English-speaking peoples to emphasize the difference. This practical side of his nature is shown by the fact that he has done things — done them in the very thick of the fray. As he said to a friend, who expressed surprise that he should give up literary work to reform the police department of New York: "I thought the storm centre was in New York, and so I came here. It is a great piece of practical work. I like to take hold of work that has been done by a Tammany leader and do it as well, only by approaching it from an opposite direction. A thing that attracted me to it was that it was to be done in the hurly-burly, for I don't like cloister life." No, decidedly, Mr. Roosevelt is not the man to meditate in a monastery when there is work to be done in the world.

The White House exercises a restraining influence upon its occupant. Every man who has sat in the chair of Washington has grown to the measure of his responsibilities. No man has left the White House who has not broadened; whose horizon has not been widened; who has not taken a more philosophic view of life; who has not come to understand, if he never understood it before, that nations have their obligations to other nations exactly as individuals have their obligations to society. The presidency has always left its impress upon the President. No man is exactly the same after being President as he was before he was elected; nor can anyone wonder at it. President Roosevelt, with all his vitality,

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his cyclopean power of work, and his overflowing good spirits slightly tinged with a cynicism which makes him estimate both praise and criticism at about their true value, will not pass unscathed through the severest test that can be applied to any man. When he leaves the White House he will be graver and more sedate than he is to-day.

Although the youngest President, Mr. Roosevelt has a more comprehensive and intimate knowledge of the country than had any of his predecessors. It is somewhat remarkable that although Americans are a nation of travellers, although most Americans know from personal observation a great deal of their own country, the majority of Presidents have spent their lives, prior to their election, in the section of the country in which they had their homes; and the number who have known anything of foreign countries can, I believe, be counted upon the fingers of one's hands. President Roosevelt is the notable exception. A man from the East, his birth and position entitling him to admission to the best in its society, he knows the West as only men can know it who have lived there and come into intimate contact with its people. There is no section of the country that the President does not know; there is no class, from cow punchers to savants, among whom he has not his friends. He has seen much of Europe; he has travelled there and met its people; and he is no stranger to their ideas. He is one of the very few Presidents possessing a proficient knowledge of foreign languages. He is the only President who served an apprenticeship in one of the great departments. There have been men who went to the White House from the head of an Executive Department, but I do not now recall the case of an Assistant Secretary becoming President. His years of service as a Civil Service Commissioner and later as Assistant Secretary of the Navy have given him a knowledge of the minutiæ of departmental affairs which will be of the greatest value to him now. The advantage which some of his predecessors possessed of having had experience in the House or Senate, and understanding from actual observation the idiosyncrasies of Congress, has been denied him.

Congress is the malignant influence in his horoscope. I venture the prediction that if President Roosevelt has trouble it will be caused by the Senate and not by the people. The Senate has gradually enlarged its powers until it has come to regard itself as a council of state as well as a legislative body, and in its capacity as a council of state seeks to control the actions of the Executive. Since the Senate has pronounced obsolete the doctrine that it has no greater powers than those vested in the House of Representatives, the relations between the Senate and the

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President have not always been of the most intimate character. In fact, it can be said that during the last twenty years Mr. McKinley was the only President who never had any friction with the Senate. But Mr. McKinley had a peculiar genius for managing men, and a subtle tact in dealing with the Senate. He was such an accomplished diplomatist that he was able to avoid all clashing, principally because he was content not to try to force any line of policy to which the Senate objected. An instance of this was his skill in not taking issue with the Senate on the question of reciprocity. Although he believed in the wisdom of reciprocity, as his memorable speech at Buffalo showed, and refused to permit Mr. Kasson, the special reciprocity commissioner, to resign when the Senate refused to ratify the treaties which he had negotiated, he made no effort to secure the ratification of those treaties when the Senate refused to consider them. A man with less *finesse* or more obstinacy, who held himself in less careful restraint or was more indifferent about preserving the most cordial relations with the Senate, would have forced the issue, which would probably have led to a rupture with the leaders of his party in the Senate. Mr. McKinley had the additional advantage, possessed by no President in recent years, of having the confidence of the Senate, which had the highest respect for his wisdom and caution, and for the ability he had shown in the management of the war and of the great issues that followed.

Mr. McKinley could do many things that President Roosevelt cannot do. Age was in favor of the late President. The leaders of the Senate are men well advanced in years, and they accepted from a man of their own age advice which they will not accept from one who is their junior. Mr. Roosevelt will not be so docile as Mr. McKinley. Mr. Roosevelt will, of course, take counsel with the Republican leaders in the Senate; he will endeavor to secure their support for the policy which he advocates; he will make every effort to maintain the most friendly relations with them; but if the Senate attempts to interfere with the prerogatives of the President or to overstep the constitutional line dividing the legislative from the executive, the President will not be the first to yield. It is not in the nature of the man to do so. If a thing is to be done, and he believes it to be right, he will do it, and he will be indifferent as to what the Senate may think about it. There is a good deal of the Andrew Jackson about him; and if he should read the Senate a lecture, as Jackson did, it would not be surprising.

President Roosevelt's administration will be an interesting one, and not the least interesting feature will be the relations between him and

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the Senate. That the Senate will endeavor to extend its power, to increase its influence, and to continue to be the dominant force in the government, no one who knows the Senate and the men who control it, or who has narrowly watched its course during the last few years, can for one moment doubt. Mr. Roosevelt will not be content with being merely the agent to execute the decrees of the Senate. He will respect it and he will treat it with the consideration that properly belongs to it under the Constitution; but he will also exact from it the constitutional deference that the Senate owes to the Executive. If he does not, if he surrenders to the Senate, if he is content with being merely its agent and allowing it to shape his policy to suit its views, one will be surprised and, perhaps, not a little disappointed. This will be the great test of his character, the proof whether he is the impetuous man some people have imagined, or whether he is the determined, positive, courageous man some of his friends believe him to be — cool enough to do nothing rash, tactful enough to yield non-essentials when concession is necessary, wise enough to understand human nature and mould it to his own purpose.

Many Presidents have had a "kitchen cabinet" which has been more powerful than the regular cabinet; most Presidents have had an intimate friend who, according to popular belief, has been the real power in the White House. People have asked who is to be the premier of the kitchen cabinet or the Warwick of the administration. The answer can be readily given. His name is Theodore Roosevelt.

A. Maurice Low.

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PRESERVING A STATE'S HONOR.

"WELL! we have held the bridge; we have saved the honor of our State for two years more at least."

This was the greeting of probably the most distinguished Republican in the State of Delaware to the chairman of the Democratic State Committee, in a hotel lobby at Dover, on March 8 last; and, as they congratulated each other on the result of a political fight just ended, no one would have supposed that for years they had strenuously opposed each other as chairmen of the executive committees of hostile political parties. The Republican had gained distinction and the title of General as a dashing cavalry leader in the Civil War; and honorable service in Cuba, Porto Rico, and China had made him a Major-General. He had just retired as Delaware's member of the National Republican Committee, and had served as chairman of the Republican State Committee.

The political party to which he belonged was nominally in control of both Houses of the Delaware Legislature; and the last Joint Assembly of those two Houses had just met and adjourned, on the last day of the legislative session of 1901, after one ineffective formal ballot, having failed to elect a United States senator to fill either of the two existing vacancies. His party had failed to gather the fruits of a victory heralded as a great Republican success in the State election of 1900. The State would be entirely unrepresented in the Senate of the United States for two years at least; yet the Republican and Democrat congratulated each other as comrades in the fight just ended.

Both men were strong partisans, and each had received the votes of his party's representatives in the Legislature for senator. Neither had expected or even hoped to be elected, nor would either of them have opposed the election, if possible, of any honorable member of his political party, reasonably fitted for the place, to either vacant senatorship. Politically strong antagonists, neither asking nor giving quarter in fair political contests, chosen often to oppose each other, yet fighting now together in a common cause, to avert dishonor from their State, supported each by his party organization, and unitedly by all that was sturdily honest, upright, and virile in the State—only startlingly strange

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political conditions could have produced such comradeship. Even a few years ago it would not have been conceivable that the intelligent people of a sovereign State of the American Union would applaud the successful efforts of those who had prevented the State from having its constitutional representation in the Senate; yet the good citizens of Delaware, irrespective of party, rejoiced and congratulated each other, and still do, over the outcome of the contest in their Legislature, which leaves them unrepresented in the Senate at Washington.

The conditions of political life to which this result may be attributed were not produced in a day or even in a year, and it may not be unprofitable to review the causes of their existence.

Delaware, like all Gaul, is divided into three parts, which are its three counties, New Castle, Kent, and Sussex. From granite hills in northern New Castle a rolling country extends southward to the flat, rich farming lands of Kent, the middle county, while still farther south the light and sandy soil of Sussex supports a population of almost pure English descent, which is essentially Southern in its characteristics, differing greatly from the people of the upper portion of the State. Above the Christiana River, in upper New Castle, which is practically the southern boundary of the city of Wilmington, manufactures flourish, and on them the population mainly depends; below that river agriculture almost wholly supports the people. Until the adoption of the new Constitution, in 1897, each county had equal representation in the Legislature—ten members to each county—although New Castle had a greater population than both the others combined, and all candidates for the Legislature ran throughout the county. Under the Constitution of 1897 the State was divided into senatorial and representative districts. The number of State senators was increased to seventeen and of representatives to thirty-five, which gave the agricultural districts about forty senators and representatives out of a total of fifty-two.

The professional and farming classes in Delaware have been mainly Democratic, while the manufacturers, believing religiously in protective tariffs, are generally Republican. The latter have become comparatively wealthy, while agriculture has declined from several causes, chiefly the competition of the West in grain and cattle, and the opening up of competitive lines of rapid transportation with the South, by which lower freight rates have enabled Southern produce to compete successfully with Delaware fruit and vegetables in Northern and Eastern markets. Delaware had been a Whig State, but long before the war she was safely Democratic, and Republicanism was never indigenous to her soil. Of

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course, there were Republicans throughout the State; but they were chiefly resident in upper New Castle, where the manufacturing interests predominated. Though a border State between the North and South, having many close connections with the Eastern Shore of Maryland, which it adjoins throughout its entire length, its closest relations, business and political, were with the other Middle States, and its political sympathies in accord with theirs.

Delaware's senators were chosen by men elected by the farming classes; and while opposed to protective tariffs, and coming from a State where a few slaves were held, they always opposed disunion. The more wealthy manufacturers in the northern part of the State, however, whose material interests were not advanced by the State's delegation in Congress, were, of course, in close touch with those concerned in like enterprises in the neighboring city of Philadelphia, and the adjoining part of the State of Pennsylvania; and with the aid of such white Republicans in the lower counties as could be obtained, efforts were now and then made during the twenty years succeeding the war to "redeem the State," as they were fond of calling it, from the Democrats. The comparatively large negro population of the State could be counted on to vote the Republican ticket to a man, and did so; and during this period it was not a venal or corrupt vote, but simply ignorant and absolutely controlled by the questions settled by the war. Of course, when the Pennsylvania manufacturer joined his Delaware brother in a crusade for the benefit of his material interests on the national question of tariff rates, such funds as could be used were forthcoming; and no venal voter escaped when such a crusade was in progress.

The sturdy independence of the Delaware Democrats in Congress, and their lack of appreciation of the blessings of high tariffs, had always been more or less of a thorn in the side of the prosperous Pennsylvania manufacturer; and from time to time many Philadelphia wallets were relieved of their surplus "to redeem Delaware," and to put into operation in this State that form of government of which all Pennsylvanians are just now so proud. The trusted agents of the contributors occasionally paid off mortgages which had oppressed them; but these onslaughts upon Delaware were not otherwise particularly profitable. The venal voters had not increased sufficiently to control the situation; the Republicans were never able to capture the Legislature of the State; and with the exception of electing a Governor in war time—who died in less than two years, and thus returned the office to the Democrats—and a congressman twice, their raids were entirely unsuccessful.

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Two evils, however, grew out of them: (1) They accustomed the Republicans in the State to appeal to outsiders for pecuniary assistance, and caused them to welcome joyfully anyone who came into the State and showed a disposition to take part in our politics; and (2) no voter who wished to sell himself remained virtuous from lack of a market.

At the risk of subjecting myself to the charge of claiming to be a prophet, I clip the following from the newspaper report of a speech made several years ago:

"A community cannot be brought in daily touch with the blighting influences of corruption without feeling it, without lowering, temporarily at least, its moral tone. . . . The worst indictment I could draw against the Republican party and its managers would contain as one of its chief charges that of elevating to high place within their organization strangers among us who, without any thought of the future, without any reverence for our past, endeavor by fair means or foul to accomplish their political purposes. Let a man come to this State claiming to be a Republican, able to wear good clothes, and to contribute to Republican campaign funds, and he will be welcomed with open arms. . . . This custom has brought to the Republican Party its own punishment. Seeking to turn against their political enemies the corrupt tools furnished to their hands they have hurt themselves. . . . It is the blight of carpet-baggism which the Republicans of this State have brought upon us that has cursed us, that has unsettled the decent amenities of our politics, that has upset our civic affairs, and has proved their own undoing. A different kind of carpet-baggism possibly from that in the Southern States, which wrecked their finances . . . but the Republicans of Delaware have propagated and encouraged a new species of the same political weed — the commercial carpet-bagger with a telephone residence in the State."

The natural result of these efforts to "redeem Delaware" from the Democrats by means of campaign funds raised outside of the State, or by the contributions of such of the few rich men who came here as were encouraged to take part in politics, was, of course, to increase the purchasable vote to some extent; but never until the sustained and continued efforts to corrupt the electorate had been persisted in at every election for a period of years did the venal vote become a factor to be reckoned with at our elections, and this condition has come about only in the last ten or twelve years. In the year 1892, when first I was chairman of the Democratic Executive Committee of New Castle County, there was no suggestion from the representatives on that committee from the different hundreds and election districts that money could be corruptly used against us in more than two or three of the election districts of the whole county. Since that time, however, the number of venal voters has so increased that it is doubtful if there are a dozen precincts out of the whole ninety-five where money has not been used by the Republicans for the purchase of individual votes.

Studied efforts have been made by those who have been corrupting

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our politics to have it believed that for a long time money has been used corruptly in politics in Delaware. This is not true, unless the general knowledge of those of us who have taken an interest in politics since boyhood is at fault. In the nature of things it cannot be true to any extent, so far as the Democrats are concerned, for our people are not and never have been wealthy. Not very many of them in the agricultural districts belong even to the "well-to-do" class. It may seem strange to people in the larger States, but in the State of Delaware we probably have not ten persons who are really millionaires, and I know of only one south of the Christiana River, in the agricultural districts, who is probably entitled to be so classed. The conditions of life with us are not hard. Habits are generally simple, and entertainments are usually inexpensive. Candidates for office, almost without exception, had only small incomes or relied for a livelihood upon the produce of what land they owned; and there was no source from which a large campaign fund could be raised even if one could have been used corruptly. The Democratic office-holders received only modest salaries and were honest, and not a dollar was ever lost to the State from a defalcation.

The only way in which any money worth mentioning was ever used in connection with politics in Delaware, until a few years ago, was that a custom had grown up of paying the poll-tax, usually about one dollar, to obtain a tax receipt for any one too poor or too careless so to qualify himself to vote. There was probably a good deal of this done, and it required a few thousand dollars each election to do it; but neither the man who paid the tax nor the man whose tax was paid violated any law or had any notion he was buying or selling a vote. It resulted in no personal benefit to the voter, and in no pecuniary or personal benefit to the man who paid the tax, except that the latter secured for his party candidates a vote, which otherwise would have been lost.

Undoubtedly, the fact that people would pay taxes to qualify a man to vote had a tendency to create in the voter's mind the impression that his vote was valuable; but the tax was paid, just as the wife of an ardent supporter was presented with a silk dress, or his small son with a pair of boots, or the man himself had sent to his house a barrel of flour after he, as a political lieutenant, had been very energetic in bringing voters to the polls in a hot political contest. Customs of this character may, of course, grow to be evils and may naturally lead up to serious abuses although they may spring from pure, disinterested, and generous instincts, and may be absolutely devoid of corrupt motive; but until recent years any evils arising from the corruption of the voters might be

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compared with those of the present time as a slight cold from which one man suffers might be compared with an epidemic of yellow fever. The trifling gift made to the man who had actively and earnestly worked for party success in a political contest, or to a member of his family, was nothing more than the recognition of the friendliness and earnestness of a political follower; and the custom had in it something that was patriarchal. I remember distinctly as a lad having pointed out to me in Sussex County, as a specimen of the political degenerate, a man who was said to have been the first man who ever sold his vote; and I may add that that man had come from another State.

Conditions, however, changed as time went on. It may be that the friendly recognition of earnest political work, and the payment of taxes to enable the poorer people to vote, fixed in the minds of some of these people the idea that a vote had a pecuniary value, and familiarized persons who had no evil intent with the idea of accepting money or gifts from those active in politics. The material conditions of the agricultural community also changed gradually as the political raids for the "redemption" of the State increased in frequency; and the farming classes, while the necessities of life increased—in the sense that modern conveniences of living began to be thought necessaries, and musical instruments and better furniture began to appear in farm-houses—found their incomes and surplus earnings diminishing.

Agriculture was becoming less remunerative, and the agricultural communities of Delaware, without competitive lines of transportation, have been compelled to rely upon a single railroad, which exacts upon their products just "such a rate as the traffic will bear." This impoverished them at a time when every source of revenue needed to be turned to account. The perishable fruits and vegetables, which constitute a large portion of the produce of Delaware farms, must be delivered in the large city markets without delay. And while the farmers are compelled to pay exorbitant freight rates to market their produce, it must compete in city markets with that sent from other sections favorably located on competitive lines of transportation; and such produce from the South has been hauled past the very door of the Delaware farmer at a less rate than he could get on the shorter haul.

The farmers and truckers of the Peninsula have thus been impoverished, and their surplus earnings have gone into the railroad treasury. The more active and pushing of the young men have abandoned the farms for town and city occupations; while those who have remained, often discouraged and rendered hopeless of bettering their condition, have not

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in all cases held up to the same standard of independence under temptation which characterized this portion of the community for so many years. When the whole story is written it will be appreciated how great an injury to public morality may be done through corporate greed. Thus the material condition of the population became worse, while organized efforts to accomplish political results with money became more frequent and determined.

I have said that some years ago the negro vote was not a venal one. That condition has changed. Delaware stands now almost alone, being possibly now the only State in the Union dominated and controlled by the negro vote; the Southern States generally having overcome this misfortune by constitutional or statutory provisions or other means. This vote constitutes with us nearly twenty per cent of the whole, while the largest Republican majority ever obtained was never ten per cent of the total vote. The negroes are regularly taught and drilled to vote the Republican ticket, and not fifty in the whole State fail to do so. There are possibly a few negroes who vote the Democratic ticket, but my personal knowledge does not enable me to vouch for this.

This mass of ignorant voters has now been made venal and corrupt by the factional quarrels in the Republican party; and practically every negro vote in the large majority of Republican legislative districts is secured on election day by the Union Republicans, by which name the dominant faction of the Republican party is known. The negro vote need not amount to the actual majority of the electorate to produce intolerable misgovernment. If it is a potential factor it is sufficient to produce conditions of governmental disorder which may threaten the State; and when it can determine, by its solidarity, the result of elections, the evils produced increase in geometrical progression.

Without the negro vote the Republicans in 1900 would have been most wofully defeated. Not a single Republican could have been elected to a State office, and the majority of about 3,000 in favor of the Republicans would have been changed to a majority of over 5,000 for the Democrats. In the Legislature of fifty-two members the Republicans had twenty-nine votes; but negro votes elected the majority of these, and without the negroes the Republicans, notwithstanding the practically unlimited amount of money at their disposal, could have secured not more than fourteen members.

The conditions of Delaware politics up to and including the early eighties would have pleased and satisfied any student who was at all practical in his views, and not an idealist striving for the impossible.

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In 1884, however, on the practical retirement of Mr. Bayard from the field of State politics, to become Mr. Cleveland's first Secretary of State, his share of the control of Democratic management devolved upon others less active, wise, conciliatory, and temperate; and factional strife in the party became acute.

One of the crusades before described for Delaware's "redemption" was organized in 1888, when a most serious and unfortunate factional fight was distracting the Democrats. The least needed amount which could be utilized is said to have been furnished by an eminent Pennsylvania Republican; and for the first time the Republicans in 1889 found themselves possessed of a bare majority of the Legislature on joint ballot. They were themselves, however, divided into hostile factional camps; and it seemed likely that a split might result, and that no choice of a United States senator would be made, or, if so, only after great political turmoil.

However, conditions had produced the occasion, and, as always, the man arrived in due time. A stranger, who some years before had bought a country place near the Pennsylvania State line, which he has himself said he thought was in Delaware County, Pennsylvania, and not in the State of Delaware, alighted from a railroad train at Dover after midnight, shortly before the Republican caucus for senator was held, and announced himself a candidate for the place. This announcement coming from a rank outsider who was absolutely unknown, except to possibly a couple of dozen Delawareans, was received with derision, and after much wrangling Anthony Higgins was elected, the first Republican senator from Delaware. The Democrats, taught wisdom by defeat, patched up their quarrels and won the elections of 1890 and 1892; but in 1889 the stranger above mentioned had conceived the notion of getting a senatorship "just for a ribbon to stick in his coat."

Possessed of comparatively great wealth, he had succeeded in forming the nucleus of a personal party, and its affairs have been attended to with such industry as almost to destroy the political life of one of the great national parties in this State, and to effect what not even an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, ratified by forty-four of the forty-five States of the Union, could legally accomplish.

Twelve years of audacity in the field of Delaware politics have made this Frankenstein of Delaware Republicanism well known throughout the whole country. Fortunately for our own party his political operations were begun under the guise, or disguise, of Republicanism. That party was an unhealthy organization, torn apart by factional jealousies,

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and he proceeded to acquire its franchise, good-will, and assets with a cheerful pertinacity truly remarkable. Slowly and insidiously at first shares in this moribund association were acquired. In 1894, when the Republicans for a second time, helped by the political tidal wave of that year, succeeded in obtaining a majority on joint ballot in the Legislature, this new aspirant for political honors was able to hold four members in personal allegiance to himself, and with these he held up the Republicans, prevented the election of a senator, and produced the first of the series of senatorial vacancies.

Undaunted by the abuse heaped upon him for this act, he continued to undermine the opposition in his party, acquired a greater interest, and when a controlling interest in the property was secured in 1896, he at once asserted his ownership of the plant. The minority bolted, and appealed for protection to the Republican Convention at St. Louis, which threw him out of court. He gave notice of a motion for a rehearing, came back to Delaware, where dissensions on national questions were distracting the Democrats, persistently continued his political operations, and refused again to allow his followers in the Legislature to vote for any one but himself at the session of 1899. Three members of that Legislature who had been elected as Democrats were even "persuaded" to vote for him for senator on the last day of the session, and others were "dissuaded" only by threats and fear of personal violence. These men were at once denounced as traitors, and the party committees read them out of the Democratic party. Thus for a second time a vacancy in the United States Senate was produced; the first one he had caused in 1895 having meanwhile been filled by the Democrats, who carried the election of 1896.

The most respectable element in the Republican party of the State had forsworn association with this new leader. He had prevented the election of a Republican senator in 1895; had enabled the Democrats to carry the State and elect a Constitutional Convention, a Governor, a Legislature, and a United States senator in 1896; had produced a second senatorial vacancy in the Legislature of 1899, by refusing to allow his personal followers to vote for any of the dozen Republicans the others voted for; and yet at the Philadelphia Convention of 1900, the genuine Republicans of Delaware, who had upheld for years the standard of their party, were refused seats in that Convention, and by the admission of the Union Republican delegates to the National Convention, the raid upon the Delaware organization of the Republican party was officially crowned with success.

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The results of the election of 1900 and of the legislative session of 1901 are well known. On every ballot for senator the so-called Union Republican members were required to vote for the organizer, owner, and master of their party for both senatorships. With grim humor someone said: "He thinks he's twins and wants them both." Never has there been another such exhibition of servile subserviency in American politics.

All the opposing members of the party to which he claims to belong stood ready to vote for practically anyone connected with their political organization who could justly lay claim to mere respectability. Even reasonable qualifications were not demanded, and the Regular Republicans actually varied their votes from day to day among some twelve or fifteen persons to indicate that any of them would receive their support for either one of the two senatorial vacancies. They would not vote for Democrats or agree to divide the senatorships with them, but were willing to vote for practically any Republican, excepting one man only. The personal organization, however, masked as a political party, obeyed its master's orders, and the Republicans of Delaware found that the letters of marque issued to political pirates by the Philadelphia Convention had not changed their methods of warfare from those of 1895 and 1899, and that they would rake a consort fore and aft and sink her unless permitted to seize all prizes, and unless their captain was allowed personally to enjoy alone all rewards of victory. They would not even permit the election of one senator to fill the shorter term. But they had finally met determined men, and in baffled desperation, imitating their old-time prototypes of the high seas, they scuttled the ship.

During all those anxious days the Democrats in the Legislature stood together and voted as one man to prevent their State's disgrace. They were doubtless tempted in all ways conceivable. Foolish advice and corrupt suggestions were poured into their ears; but not a break occurred in our party, and the people of the State applaud them, as well as the seven Regular Republicans, without stint.

The Union Republicans, becoming the dominant faction of the Republican party, have succeeded in electing a majority in the Legislature and in the local governing bodies in the several counties, as well as the Governor, and the responsibilities of success attach to that organization, or rather to its controlling head.

The record made by those who have thus acquired political power is worth reviewing. When, immediately after the election of 1900, it was known that the chief of the Union Republicans would not have a clear

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majority of personal followers in the Legislature, contests of Democratic seats were trumped up in every county in the State. The flimsiest pretexts were sufficient. Finally they were boiled down to two. The seat of one representative in Kent County was contested on claims which should have been made before two of the judges of our Supreme Court sitting as a canvassing board with sufficient judicial as well as ministerial powers. The contest was delayed until the Union Republicans had obtained control of the ballot-boxes in certain districts with every opportunity for changing the ballots. Then a contest was started to throw out a Democratic representative. The Regular Republicans joined the Democrats in refusing the case a hearing.

The contest over a senatorship in New Castle County began before the Elections Committee of the State Senate. At the first or second sitting of the committee a witness for the contestant broke down under cross-examination, confessing that fictitious affidavits had been prepared for presentation to the committee. Fearing that the true facts, which were in the hands of the Democrats, would be offered at the next hearing, and spread before the public, the contest was, in panic-stricken haste, abandoned, and some hitherto respectable reputations were damaged beyond repair.

As soon as the Republican State government was installed, the worst fears of our people as to the absolute disregard of laws and constitutional provisions began to be realized. Laws intended to secure fair and uncorrupted elections were repealed, and all doors opened to aid fraud and corruption. Hostility to honest elections could not be carried farther than in the new Voters' Assistant Law, which provides that the Union Republican Governor shall appoint voters' assistants for both parties from the names each submits to him and permits any voter to take such assistant into the voting-booth to mark his ticket for him. The law was not passed hurriedly or ignorantly; for when the Democrats enacted the Australian Ballot Law, in 1891, it contained provisions for voters' assistants, who, however, were appointed by committees of the political parties without compelling the party in opposition to submit names to a hostile Governor from which to select voters' assistants. Under the old law, voters' assistants became active instruments of fraud and corruption, and for that reason were abolished by the Democrats in 1897, and no one could enter the voters' booth with the voter, except when absolute blindness or the loss of both arms physically disqualified the voter to stamp his ballot.

With full knowledge of the practical effect of the voters' assistants,

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and to make it impossible for purchased voters to deceive them, the Republicans re-enacted the law in a worse form. Officials may now inform the purchasers of votes whether the "goods have been delivered." There has never been a more shameless scheme to encourage corruption than the enactment of this law. In furtherance of this purpose, the color and age columns of the registration books, by which a voter may be identified, when offering to vote at the election, were abolished; and anyone can understand how difficult and almost impossible it is to distinguish between the negroes and prevent them from repeating at registrations and elections, when neither their color nor their age can be asked or known for the purpose of identification.

The constitutional provisions requiring bids for public printing and supplies are disregarded by Republican officials, and contracts given to favored members of their party at prices which will pay them for their political work.

While Democrats were in control of the State and county governments, there never was a default in the payment of either the principal or interest on a public obligation of the State or any of its counties. The Union Republicans had no sooner obtained control of the county government in Sussex County than interest on its bonds was allowed to default, and no interest has now been paid for two and a half years.

Officials have been increased in number and salaries have been increased in amount. State officers, where they were holding-over Democrats, have been legislated out of office by the repeal of laws under which they were appointed, and immediately new laws to the same effect have been enacted and Republicans appointed under them. No special regard is shown for any law if not in accord with the political necessities of the moment, or if it can be evaded by the neglect or refusal of the officials thus elected, whose duties require them to enforce its provisions.

In one county the whole panel of both grand and petit jurors, selected by new Republican officials in an illegal manner, and amid charges and countercharges of misconduct, has been quashed; the jurors have been dismissed by our courts, and new men selected by the judges to take their places. It is said that in another county Democrats have been entirely excluded from jury panels, though two-thirds of the white men of the county are Democrats.

In one branch of our government, however, our trust remains absolutely unshaken. Our judiciary now stands the only certainly uncorrupted and incorruptible barrier protecting our rights and liberties

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against organized and partially successful political outrage. Fortunately, no evil word, even of suspicion, has been or could be uttered against the members of our Bench. They were appointed by a Democratic Governor from both political parties for twelve years in 1897 under the provisions of our newly adopted constitution, and thus one branch of our government is probably until 1909 beyond the possibility of pollution. With a tool of the Union Republican leader for Governor, able to appoint our judges, and with his servants in control of the State Senate to confirm appointments, the worst conditions of South Carolina and Louisiana in reconstruction times would probably be repeated here.

"But there must be two sides to the question" is so common a remark when charges like these are made against an individual, organization, or party, that I shall give the other side in the exact words of the recognized organ of the dominant faction of the Republican party, printed since this article was requested. No lawyer or layman can construe this as a plea of "not guilty." It is a confession and defiance:

"Nowhere else has Republican leadership been so sincere in its devotion to party principles, so persistent in loyalty to party friends, so courageous and liberal in its efforts to redeem a State as . . . in the State of Delaware. . . . Those who alone deny this are the men and people who contented themselves with the pittance of Federal patronage that comes to this State through Republican national victories, who failed in every attempt at political leadership, and whose often proved incompetence made them objects of contempt with their opponents. . . . The truth is that the bolter Republicans who are backing and promoting this country-wide slander were so poor in money and spirit, and so incompetent in leadership, that they allowed the State to be given over to the Democrats . . . until they could not, even if they would, ransom it and make it free. . . . These Republicans and all others of the State know that, under the leadership of the bolter leaders, the State Republican Party was a political mendicant; that at every campaign period they are running around holding out their hats and hands for political alms to enable them, not to win the State, but to make fight enough to allow a claim of recognition and patronage distribution. . . . The only senatorial representative the Republicans ever elected bought his way—or rather it was bought for him at the polls—with money that had been begged for that purpose in another State. While this kind of politics was going on these bolters were begging money of Mr. Addicks for political purposes, and were perfectly willing to take all he would give them to buy their way into office, but he must not aspire to either office or leadership. . . . That price had to be paid. . . . The Democrats were beaten in this way in 1894 and 1896 simply because the party under its new leadership had money sufficient to do the work. . . . The Republicans have won in every election since. The Republicans have elected a majority of every Legislature since 1894. The State Government is Republican throughout. This, in ten years under Mr. Addick's leadership, is to be set against thirty-four years of failure—absolute, beggarly failure—under the leadership of the so-called bolter Republicans.

It is this ransoming of the State from the thraldom of dishonest, vicious, and corrupt politics upon the Democratic side, and the poverty-stricken incompetence of the bolter Republicans on the other side, that these slanderers of Mr. Addicks, and

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the State of Delaware, call 'buying a State.' . . . These being the fruits of 'buying the State' it is evident that it ought to have been 'bought' long ago. It would have been bought long ago if the bolters could have raised the money necessary, and then could have backed it by competent leadership."

This was not an ordinary newspaper utterance, but is entitled to be printed as "the other side." It is the official answer and defiance of the Union Republicans through their political mouthpiece.

When a Regular Republican member of the General Assembly was asked to further the election of the leader of the party, the member replied: "What you ask me to do is to change my code of morals. Would you ask and expect me to change my religion to become a Catholic or Protestant or an infidel if you thought the change would benefit the Republican party?"

The people of Delaware are very jealous of the good name of their State and of the character of her public servants. They have held the senatorships to be the most honorable dignities they could confer upon those they wished honorably to distinguish. Doubtless, the ability of her senators has varied; but until the influence of the existing condition was felt, a high standard of civic excellence and personal integrity was maintained in the public mind by which to measure aspirants for these honors.

The names of Van Dyke, Bassett, Rodney, Read, and Clayton are as honored and beloved by Delawareans as those of their later leaders who are still remembered personally by this generation. The story is still told of Rodney's ride to give Delaware's deciding vote for Independence, of McDonough's and Kirkwood's heroism. It is remembered, too, that in Delaware the stars and stripes were first unfurled and baptized in battle; and that in every war more than our State's proportion of the country's defenders have volunteered when called to her defence. The strength of these traditions has enabled us to maintain the standard of ability for which the country generally has not hesitated to credit us, and increases our resentment at the attempt to degrade our State's good name.

So we stand. No voice may speak for Delaware in that highest legislative body in the world created by the Constitution of the United States, which she, instructed and led by her patriotic sons of Revolutionary times, with clear foresight, was the very first to ratify. No power but her own will could make vacant those senatorial chairs to which we point with pride as silent but irrefutable witnesses to the purity, incorruptibility, and steadfast honor of our people, willing to withdraw

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from the high places of distinction rather than barter their State's good name. These chairs may remain a long time vacant; this fight will go on until we are victorious or overpowered. We have been accustomed to claim great credit for our State because she has honored those who have by their valor, worth, integrity, courage, and ability reflected back that honor upon her, and have written their names high among their contemporaries upon the roll of patriots and statesmen; and no one has cared, after time has mellowed the feeling personal clashes have produced, whether they were Federalist or Republican, Whig or Democrat. But now we are in a dogged, determined, hand-to-hand contest for a semblance of clean political life, and there need be no fear that there will be a surrender by the respectable elements of society in Delaware.

Party politics, in the usual sense, are almost abandoned here in the face of the threatened dishonor of our State's good name. Family feuds and personal animosities and ambitions are sunk in this time of common peril; and if we do not maintain our position, if the strain becomes too great, let the other States of this Union beware, for their time has almost come. They may have more territory and wealth; their people may outnumber us; but man for man they are not more courageous, more honorable, more upright, less mercenary, or less self-seeking, nor do they love their State more, than those who in Delaware for twelve years have stood together for the preservation of a State's honor, and will so stand to the end.

No one could be a stronger advocate than I of the doctrine that the citizens of each State should unhindered manage its own affairs; yet in this Union, an injury or a danger to one, and she almost the weakest, is and should be the concern of all. That the good people of this nation may know and understand in some small measure the conditions which threaten us in Delaware, and through our failure will threaten them, this article is written; and we cherish the hope that all those everywhere who believe in good government will join us in the prayer, still officially appended to many of our proclamations, "God Save the State."

WILLARD SAULSBURY.

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SUGAR AND THE NEW COLONIES.

In an article published over two years ago,[1] I pointed out the prominent part that would be played in the problems pertaining to the new colonies by the political and economic aspects of the sugar industry. I showed the intimate relation existing between the future prosperity of these tropical countries and the treatment to be accorded their chief article of export, and argued that the path to success in colonial government was to be found in the rehabilitation and development of the tropical cane-sugar industry.

The march of events since has demonstrated, to a degree surprising even to the writer, the accuracy of the predictions then made. The public prominence that questions relating to sugar now occupy throughout the world is remarkable. It is a most curious and interesting fact that no other food product used by man enters so largely into the domain of state and international politics. Sugar has enjoyed the dubious distinction of being "mixed up with politics" from the days of Napoleon down to the time of the sugar trust. Whether the industry as a whole has gained or lost by the association is an open question. This much seems to be certain, however, that there is no immediate prospect of a change of condition in this respect; for the plot thickens from year to year and almost from month to month, in the shape of new bounties, new schemes for bounty, and fresh tariff restrictions, with the resultant crop of international complications, countervailing duties, and reprisals. Outside of colonial matters it is only necessary to instance the recent contention between the United States and Russia, caused by a question of sugar bounty, that has involved the two nations in a controversy, of which the end is not yet in sight, and which may have very far-reaching consequences. Still more interesting among recent developments has been the imposition of a duty on imported sugar by England, marking as it does a relaxation of the free-trade policy to which she has clung so doggedly, a policy of which the results have been recently so graphi-

[1] "The Opportunity of the Cane Sugar Industry," in the "North American Review" for March, 1899.

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cally depicted in an article by Mr. Robert T. Hill,[1] showing how seriously the British West Indies have suffered from the blight which has befallen their chief industry.

In my article previously alluded to, I merely desired to point out the fact that the sugar-cane industry was the main factor to be considered in the problem of successful colonial government then confronting our country. Hence I assumed that the new colonies would be considered a unit, and that the same treatment would be accorded to all alike. I included Hawaii, then in the possession of the United States and enjoying unrestricted free trade; Porto Rico and the Philippines, just about to become colonies, but with their commercial status yet undetermined; and Cuba, the political and commercial status of which was still more uncertain, but which I felt sure was bound to become, sooner or later, an American dependency.

The development of a general colonial policy, however, with equal and impartial terms toward all the transmarine possessions, was rendered impossible, as we all know, by various conditions, but chiefly by the constitutional limitations of our form of government. Hawaii was left undisturbed in her favored position of entire freedom from tariff restrictions, attained by merit of priority solely; Porto Rico has only recently been granted co-equal standing, after over two years of probation as a political football; the Philippines are next in line for congressional attention; while Cuba, most important of all, is evidently doomed to see the game from the outside for an indefinite period, quite uncertain what status the constitutional interpreters and statesmen will award her, but well impressed with the fact that she must accept whatever is granted, and be very, very meek about it.

Public recognition of the importance that must be attached to sugar in questions relating to the colonies has naturally grown very rapidly during the last two years. The public has seen that the greater part of the prosperity enjoyed by Hawaii is due to the stimulus of her sugar industry by the free market accorded the product; the struggle over the Porto Rican tariff, which so nearly disrupted the dominant party, was seen to be caused by the domestic sugar interests; while the importance of the same issue in our future dealings with Cuba is sufficiently manifest in the numerous editorials and articles in the newspapers and magazines, one of the most significant being from the pen of the Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs. Senator Lodge says:[2]

[1] "The Broken Necklace: a Lesson in the Government of Distant Colonies," in the "Century Magazine" for May, 1901.

[2] In "Collier's Weekly" for June 29, 1901.

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"With the strongest political considerations combine, therefore, marked commercial advantages in the policy of giving Cuba a reasonable preference on her two great staples. . . . We must give to Cuba a preferential duty on her sugar and tobacco. . . . If we assure a market to Cuba for sugar we shall solve the Cuban problem, and the next session of Congress ought not to pass without action in this direction."

But even as sugar is the hope and main reliance of Cuba in her march toward prosperity, so is it also the chief danger and obstacle in the way of her becoming more intimately associated with the United States. The domestic sugar interests, in their opposition to the extension of free trade to Porto Rico, developed, in alliance with the growers of tobacco and fruit, a struggle that surprised the entire country even to the Chief Executive, whose recommendation, expressed so unqualifiedly as a "plain duty" and endorsed so heartily by the press, nevertheless underwent a modification to the extent of a fifteen-per-cent "duty" in the end. The strength shown by the allied opposition in that contest was all the more remarkable when we consider that it was really only a preliminary skirmish, and was so regarded by the sugar producers. The issue was important to them in the way of a precedent only, the small production of the island being no menace to the domestic product. Consequently, the display of strength was made because of the bearing the result would have upon the real contest still to come. The guns of the opposing combatants were pointed at Porto Rico, but over the sights they saw the larger target just beyond. That the fire from their batteries will be redoubled in energy when the guns are trained upon the real enemy cannot be doubted.

Since the first battle their political strength has been much augmented by means of the growth of the beet industry and its extension into new States. Recent statistical publications show that beet sugar is now produced in twelve different States, while cane sugar is grown in three others; making fifteen sugar-producing States. If to these are added the tobacco-growing States, it will be seen that at least half the States of the Union are arrayed upon the side of the allied interests. To be sure, the issue is by no means a vital one in most of these States. Of the twelve beet-growing States six have but a single factory each. One State, California, produces over half the total beet-sugar product, and Louisiana practically all the cane sugar. But the establishment of a single beet-sugar factory within the boundaries of a State, or even the publication of the polarization of a few experimentally grown sugar beets, is sufficient to convince the citizens that a great sugar-growing future is before them, and that they must oppose all legislation which might tend to

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dispossess them of it. The tobacco interests are by no means so aggressive. Tropical competition threatens certain grades only of their staple, and to most growers the movement must appeal simply as a "sympathetic strike" appeals to the workmen engaged in it. The interests of the fruit growers, moreover, lie really in the direction of cheaper sugar; though this fact, together with the rights of the consumer in the same direction, seems to be entirely lost sight of in the selfish fight of the sugar growers.

Thus an alliance of agricultural interests — always powerful with Congress — of widespread geographical extent, and well organized and equipped for such a contest, will oppose during the coming session any reduction of duties upon merchandise imported from Cuba or the Philippines. The opening note of this campaign was sounded in an interview given to the press by Hon. James Wilson, Secretary of Agriculture, early in the summer. In this statement the Secretary, after recounting the growth and progress of beet growing in this country during the last few years, gives it as his firm belief and opinion that in a short time the domestic industry, if not interfered with by hostile legislation, will produce all the sugar consumed in the United States, rendering us independent of foreign-grown sugar. This is a most remarkable prediction to be made by one so high in authority, and presumably well informed in all matters relating to an industry which has been under the special surveillance of the Department of Agriculture for so many years. The most superficial study of the statistics of the subject will suffice to show the absurdity of the claim. The bulletin of the Twelfth Census on the manufacture of beet sugar, prepared by Mr. G. L. Spencer, an employee of the Department of Agriculture, gives the production of beet sugar during the last season as 71,427 tons, thirty factories having been in operation. This is an increase of 31,028 tons over the production of the previous year. The consumption of sugar in the United States for the corresponding years, as shown by reliable statistics, was, in round numbers, 2,220,000 and 2,071,000 tons, respectively, giving an increase in consumption of about 150,000 tons.

Thus it appears that the rate of increase in consumption is nearly five times the rate of increase in production. It would be necessary to double the number of factories to meet the increased consumption for one year, and it would require nearly 1,000 factories of a like capacity to produce all the sugar consumed in the United States at the present time. The building of the factories, involving, as it would, the expenditure of two or three hundred millions of dollars, would be the smallest part of the task in these times of abundant capital; their equipment with

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the necessary number of specially trained technologists and artisans would be more difficult; and when it is considered that ten tons of beets and an acre of land — with the labor of three men throughout the growing season — are required for the production of each ton of sugar, the impossibility of any such rapid expansion of the industry as would be implied in the near production of our own supply is at once manifest.

In strong contrast with the utterances of the Secretary of Agriculture are the views of his subordinate, Mr. Charles F. Saylor, Special Agent, in his report on the "Progress of the Beet-Sugar Industry in the United States in 1900." He says:

"While capitalists as well as farmers manifest a deep interest in the future of the sugar industry, they have been, no doubt, somewhat restrained by the uncertainty attending the future of our new island dependencies, which are themselves largely sugar producers. On this subject little need be said. The writer speaks not only as the result of careful consideration of all the available data on the sugar industry in these dependencies, but as the result of personal visits to Hawaii and Porto Rico, and has no hesitation in asserting that were the opportunities for developing this industry in these new territories to be extended to their utmost capacity there would be nothing in this to discourage our domestic sugar producers. For years our domestic sugar consumption has been increasing even more rapidly than the increase of population, until during the past fiscal year our imports of sugar attained the enormous total of nearly 2,000,000 tons. For generations to come, then, it will be necessary for the people of the United States to import considerable sugar over and above what we are likely to produce, and of this importation the combined production of our new island dependencies will not do more than supply a part, and let us hope a large part."

It is to be hoped that this wise and temperate judgment, coming from one qualified by both study and experience to pass upon the question, will obtain wider circulation and credence among those who preside over the councils of the dominant political party. There is every indication, from the views expressed by prominent party organs, that a repetition of the family quarrel over the Porto Rican tariff will occur during the coming session of Congress. Different journals are advocating diametrically opposed policies toward Cuba. On the one hand, it is urged that Congress is not justified in neglecting the interests of the army of agriculturists engaged in raising beets, tobacco, and fruit in the United States for the sake of people who are, after all, essentially foreign to us in habits, customs, and ethics. It is contended that our nation has already gone to the full limits of a most Quixotic burst of generosity in spending millions of dollars and sacrificing scores of lives to liberate Cuba from the oppression of Spain, and that no possible reason can exist for the further nurture of a people which may repay the benefaction by dealing a death-blow to some of our most cherished national activities.

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Other organs, equally prominent in shaping Republican policies, argue that every consideration of fine feeling, courtesy, and sympathy for a weak and oppressed people — all the sentiments, in fact, which guided our national action in declaring war against Spain — absolutely demand that we supplement the work of rescue by deeds of parental care and kindness.

What will be the outcome of this confusion of counsels? Is it not evident that the question must be settled upon some middle course, some compromise standpoint, some wise and statesmanlike basis of agreement? And cannot this be arrived at without a repetition of the Porto Rican episode, with its harvest of public irritation over the stepmotherly treatment accorded a dependent people by a great and generous nation? Cuba must one day be ours, an integral part of our country, sharing in all the benefits and advantages of our Republic. It is inevitable. We are, as a nation, as much responsible for the future of Cuba as for that of Hawaii or New Mexico. But it can be asserted with equal emphasis that the end in view is not to be accomplished by the early annexation of the island, or by the immediate extension of free trade to her commerce. Fair treatment does not demand it, and, more particularly, wise and paternal treatment will not sanction it. Rome was not built in a day, and the assimilation of a people so different from our own is no less difficult to-day than it was in the days of the "barbarians." The simile is doubtless a poor one, since no great gulf of civilization separates us from the Cubans; but times have changed, and a difference in industrial development constitutes a great barrier to the amalgamation of people to-day. Too precipitate a policy in the direction of Cuban annexation might very readily defeat its own philanthropic purpose, wholly apart from any consideration of danger to our own citizens.

Laying aside, therefore, all thought of annexation or free trade in the immediate future, the friends of Cuba should endeavor to secure from Congress such tariff concessions as can be reasonably granted without immediate danger to domestic interests. The decisions of the Supreme Court have at least cleared the atmosphere, and dissipated much of the legal fog that obscured the pathway of Congress in the treatment of colonial matters. Upon the Congress will be thrown the full duty and responsibility of the government of the new possessions; and this plenary and unhampered power should be the very best of reasons for a wise and judicial treatment of the subject, unbiassed by party considerations, and with due regard for the best interests of both parent and protégé.

In the matter of a sugar differential there is ample margin for a com-

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promise rate between the two extremes of no concession whatever, as at present, involving the payment of a duty of about one and one-half cents per pound, and absolute free entry, as enjoyed by Hawaiian and Porto Rican sugar. Even under present conditions the industry in Cuba is slowly reviving. The acreage has been increased twenty-five per cent, and the yield for next season is estimated to reach between 600,000 and 700,000 tons. The entire abrogation of the duty on Cuban sugar would mean practically a free gift of more than the crop itself is worth. This would be ruinous to growers in this country, and they are fully justified in vigorously opposing it. On the other hand, a concession of the amount of reduction allowed the British West Indies by the terms of the proposed reciprocity treaties — $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent — would be simply a matter of the plainest equity, and the very least that should be considered by the friends of Cuba. A differential of 25 per cent, involving a reduction of about four-tenths of a cent per pound upon sugar of average polarization, could not be regarded as anything more than a very modest demand; while a reduction of $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent, or a half-cent per pound, would allow Cuba but one-third of the advantage granted to Hawaii and Porto Rico, and would cost less than $1,000,000 in duties.

These figures would seem to afford stepping-stones to an agreement between Cuban and domestic interests which should cause the latter no alarm for the future. Even if the present Cuban crop were doubled — necessarily a work of years, for sugar production is incapable of a very rapid rate of expansion — there would still be a margin of 1,000,000 tons' consumption for the domestic industry to cover. Prompt action in the direction indicated, taken early in the session before the grinding season begins, with the assurance of friendly support which such action should carry, would be of great benefit to the Cuban industry, and highly preferable to the tedious waiting and uncertainty which a protracted contest for greater concessions would entail. National action with reference to Cuban commercial relations should undoubtedly originate in the Lower House, like any other measure affecting the revenues; and, unlike those half-hearted and contemned measures called reciprocity treaties, should have the full authority carried by the concurrence of both branches of Congress with the consent of the Executive.

Aside from its political aspects, the greatest speculative interest attaches to the question of Cuban development in regard to its bearing upon the future relations of the two great branches of sugar growing — cane and beet. As this phase of the subject has already received considerable attention, I shall here touch only upon some of the more recent

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developments with reference to the problem. The most material of these developments is the continued increase and extension of beet-sugar production in Europe. The total output has increased nearly 1,000,000 tons in the last two years. There is so much said in the daily press about the importance of the beet-sugar industry in this country that the general public has come to regard it as a large and growing institution; but it plays a very insignificant part both as to size and growth, even when compared with the smaller of the European beet-growing countries. Even Spain and Italy, not usually regarded by Americans as very enterprising nations, overtop us in beet-sugar production; the former having, in spite of her disastrous war, increased her output to 117,000 tons, a total far beyond her own consumption. In Germany the production has nearly reached the mark of 2,000,000 tons, while Austria and France each produce well over 1,000,000 tons. In view of the increasing flood of export sugar, it is small wonder that the older countries are again agitating the subject of an international agreement for the repeal of bounties, an effort that has hitherto proved quite barren of results.

Much attention has been lately paid by the sugar journals to work that has been done in different parts of the world, notably in Java, for the improvement of the sugar-cane plant, not so much in its sugar content as in its vegetal vigor. According to plant physiologists it has greatly degenerated because of having been propagated for centuries from eyes or cuttings, losing thereby much of its vigor, and becoming subject to several plant diseases, which would probably not have attacked it but for its enfeebled constitution. These deductions, which are undoubtedly of some weight, have been seized upon and exploited by beat enthusiasts as sounding the death-knell of the tropical cane as a sugar-producing plant. It would seem, however, rather a subject for congratulation than a cause for regret on the part of the friends of the cane. If a plant has maintained its usefulness and has been grown so extensively for so long a period without becoming entirely extinct, what can be expected of it when rejuvenated by an accession of vigorous qualities through the medium of seed-propagated stock, a measure of improvement now rendered easily attainable by the discovery of the fact that the plant still bears fertile seed under fortuitous conditions?

Interesting arguments, not only in connection with the struggle for supremacy between cane and beet, but also as bearing upon what the future holds in store for tropical lands and peoples, will be found in two recent articles which reach directly opposite conclusions upon the latter subject. The practical and pessimistic view is taken in an editorial in

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a leading commercial paper of New York, which has been widely quoted. It is entitled "The Fate of the Tropics"; and the writer, after showing that the synthetic production of indigo has deprived tropical countries of one of their smaller monopolies, gives statistics showing the great growth of beet-sugar production in recent years; and he concludes that the tropical sugar industry is likewise moving toward its end, leaving the dweller in the tropics minus an occupation and doomed to destruction. In an article entitled "The Tropical Renaissance,"[1] Mr. Sylvester Baxter reaches an exactly opposite conclusion. After showing that the tropical diseases — malaria, yellow fever, and plague — have lost their terrors since recent discoveries have demonstrated that they are communicated to man through the agency of animals and insects, and are thus easily susceptible of control, he reasons that there will be a large influx of the white race, with its energies and civilization, to the lands which were the cradle-place of man and are still best adapted to his growth and development. Thus will be brought about a shifting of the centre of civilization toward the equator, where favorable conditions of plant growth yield the maximum of return for the minimum of labor; and the colder climes will be abandoned to inferior races, as they were during the ages of the supremacy of Mediterranean civilization.

To the practical-minded person these speculations may seem idle and illusory; yet economic movements, the agencies which preside over the destinies of nations, are becoming year by year more important, and more deserving of careful study and skilful forecasting. The eye of the economist passes over the lines and limitations drawn by political controversies and selfish interests. He beholds the fair isle of Cuba lying at the feet of the continent, awaiting only the magic touch of capital and enterprise to develop into its true and rightful position as the sugar-bowl of the Western Hemisphere. When that time comes, the armies of American agriculture, under the waving banners of the corn-tassel and the cane-plume, emblems of starch and sugar production, will hold the food markets of the world against the combined hosts of Europe.

CHARLES A. CRAMPTON.

[1] In "Harper's Magazine" for July, 1901.

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THE GOVERNMENT AND GOOD ROADS.

In a country as large as that in which we live, with the greater part of its producing regions widely separated from the markets which they serve, the matter of transportation is one of vast importance. This applies particularly to our agricultural products; for while a great portion both of our manufactured output and of our farm growth must be moved long distances by rail or water before reaching a market, practically all of the latter must also be transported for greater or less distances over the public highways. The question of marketing these agricultural products, amounting in the United States to $1,000,000,000 annually, on terms that the dealer can afford to pay and the grower to accept, often reduces itself to a question of cheap and quick delivery — in other words, to a question of economical transportation.

As far as the railways and steamship lines are concerned, this problem has been dealt with very intelligently and satisfactorily. Skill and money have been applied without stint to the provision of enlarged means of conveyance, improved ways, and increased power. These influences, under the stress of strong competition, have reduced long-distance freight rates to a reasonable level.

There is one phase of this transportation problem, however, which has approached no such satisfactory solution. That is the matter of wagon road haul. As has already been said, while the greater part of our farm products travels by steamship, canal, or railway for a portion of the journey to market, virtually all of them are conveyed for some distance over the public highways. It is unfortunate that this is often the most expensive part of their journey. It has been shown by mathematical demonstration that it costs more to move a bushel of wheat or a ton of hay ten miles over the average country roads of the United States than to transport the same burden 500 miles by railway or 2,000 miles by steamship. It has happened many times in different parts of the country that farmers have let crops go to waste because the cost of hauling them to the nearest market or railway shipping-point over wretched and ill-kept roads amounted to more than could be realized

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for them afterward; whereas, if good roads on which heavy loads could be hauled had been at hand, the same crops could have been marketed at a small profit to the producer, while the economic gain resulting from their application to useful purposes would have been very considerable.

To those who follow the trade reports of the newspapers, the announcement of a rise in the price of some staple, "due to inability to market the crop on account of the impossible condition of the country roads," is familiar reading at certain seasons of the year. It has happened that the success or failure of a skilfully manipulated "corner" has depended likewise upon the dominance of King Mud, and that the bottomless state of rural highways, making country trade dull and wholesale collections slow, has been responsible for a serious stringency in the money market.

Of course this is only one phase of the influence of our public roads upon the prosperity not only of individual communities, but of the whole country. There are reasons of political and social importance that afford equally powerful arguments for the necessity of good roads; but the industrial side of the question has been dwelt upon here to show that good highways are of public advantage as well as of utility to individuals or neighborhoods. For this reason the means of providing them are entitled to the attention and assistance of the law-making bodies of the States, the nation, or both.

The determination of the extent to which the various powers of the local, State, and national Governments should undertake this work, and of the share which should be borne by each is a matter of great importance. Without plan, system, and concerted effort it is impossible to accomplish any great public task. The absence of any definite policy or unity of action on the part of our various public authorities in the past has been one of the greatest barriers to our progress toward good roads. What has been everybody's business has come to be nobody's business, and it is very largely due to this that the United States has probably the worst system of public highways of any civilized nation of the first class. Of course there have been many other causes, but this deserves to rank as one of primary importance.

It is encouraging to be able to say that we seem now to be in a fair way toward outlining a definite policy and a feasible working plan for the betterment of our road system. The various governmental authorities, from Washington down to the country township, are taking up a share of this work, which, as it will redound to the common good, should properly be carried on by common effort.

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Nobody maintains to-day that it is the duty of the Federal Government to undertake the work of constructing adequate public roads or to bear the expense of it. In the early days of the Republic the plan of a system of great national highways constructed by the direct authority of Congress received much attention, and several roads were built by the Federal Government. With the development of the great systems of canals and railways, however, the wagon-way lost its preëminent position as a means of transportation and communication, and the policy of road construction by Federal direction has been abandoned for more than half a century.

Following the example of the general Government, the States, with few exceptions, ceased their efforts at road-building or even at the intelligent supervision and direction of it. A lax system was generally adopted by which the tax for the maintenance of the public roads was levied in the form of labor. The work of road-making or repairing was performed at odd times, in haphazard fashion, and under the direction of overseers who seldom held office for more than a year at a time, and who possessed no special knowledge to fit them for the task. It is obvious that with such a system, or lack of system, no coherent scheme of road improvement could be put into effect. Indeed, there is no doubt that in many cases the work performed in this manner left the highways actually in a worse condition than before.

Within the last decade there has been remarkable progress in the direction of awakening public interest to the importance of good roads and in bringing into practice more sane and practical methods of dealing with the public highways. The inception of this movement was due to individual effort, but it soon became strong enough to attract the attention of the State and national Legislatures. Several States framed laws which provided for the gradual construction of good roads through a system of State aid and supervision, and in 1893 Congress again took up the subject as one deserving of legislative attention. In that year a small appropriation was made, to be expended under the direction of the Department of Agriculture in the dissemination of scientific information on the subject of road construction among States, communities, or individuals desiring it. Congress set aside $8,000 for this purpose during each succeeding year until 1900, when the amount was increased to $14,000. During the present year we have $20,000 to spend, and it is hoped that the appropriation will be gradually increased to keep pace with the requirements of the work.

It may be assumed, therefore, that the Government of the United

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States is fairly committed to the cause of good roads, and that its policy will continue along the conservative lines on which it has developed during the last eight years. This policy is radically different from that taken up in the early days of the nation. It is not likely that in the near future Congress will appropriate money for the building of any great through highway or system of highways. That side of the work is to be left to the States or counties more immediately concerned. The function of the Federal Government, as at present defined, is to aid the work by the investigation of methods and materials, the distribution of literature, and the giving of expert advice, to those who desire it, through special agents who are trained road-builders. This plan provides opportunities for a large amount of work which could not be performed so well through any other medium, and still does not interfere in any way with the proper functions of State or county governments in actually providing good roads.

This is a wise and thoroughly practical arrangement. As the jurisdiction over highways is vested in State and local authorities, and as the greatest benefit from their improvement is realized by these more immediate communities, it seems proper that they should bear the principal cost of actual construction. On the other hand, we know that no great system of permanent highways in any country was ever built up and maintained without the aid and support of the general Government of that country. By making the Government the advisory or directing member in this partnership, more uniform and successful results may be obtained than would follow from the individual, unrelated efforts of different States or communities.

As at present organized, the Government's share in the work of providing good roads is performed by a division of the Department of Agriculture known as the Office of Public Road Inquiries, in charge of a director, associated with whom are an assistant director and a number of road experts designated as special agents. Considerable didactic literature has been published by the office in the form of pamphlets, which are distributed free to the citizens of the various States upon application. During the last year the task of the office has been increased by adding three important features to the work. First of all the Secretary of Agriculture, Hon. James Wilson, has divided the country into four parts for the purpose of this work, and has appointed a scientific special agent for each division for the purpose of making examinations of the road-building materials of the section and reporting to the Government the natural conditions and available road-making materials therein.

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In addition to this, he has established at Washington a physical and chemical laboratory for the purpose of testing scientifically the road-building material of every section of the country, as it may be discovered or proposed for use in highway construction. By means of these scientific tests we are able to determine accurately the hardness and durability of all road-making materials, and so avoid the costly mistakes into which different localities often fall by using an unsuitable substance for the purpose of hardening the surface of a highway, when perhaps more suitable material could be secured in the same vicinity at no greater cost. This scientific work is carried on, without cost to the people, in any locality which wishes to have tests made showing the value for road-making purposes of any material in the vicinity. Any citizen desiring to have such tests made may address the Office of Public Road Inquiries with his request, and specific directions will be forwarded to him from the office, showing how to proceed and what sample of material will be needed. The most scientific information obtainable anywhere in the world touching this subject can be obtained without cost by any citizen in the United States who will apply to his Government in the manner indicated above.

This didactic method of teaching has been supplemented by object-lessons. In 1900 and during the current year many object-lesson roads have been produced in various parts of the country under the auspices of the Office of Public Road Inquiries. As the director of that office I have produced object-lesson roads, each a mile or more in length, at Port Huron, Michigan, Saginaw, Michigan, Traverse City, Michigan, Springfield, Illinois, and Topeka, Kansas. In my last report I recommended that the sum of $45,000 should be appropriated by Congress to enable me to construct an object-lesson road in every one of the forty-five States. This recommendation has not been carried out as yet; but I believe it was favorably considered by a majority of the members of Congress, and I hope that it will ultimately be acted upon. Failing to get the necessary appropriation to carry on this work as I think it should be done, I was glad to join with the National Association of Good Roads in the great enterprise of building object-lesson roads in several of the Southern States in coöperation with the Good Roads train and the local communities where the train stopped. By this united movement a great impetus has been given to the cause of good roads in the States of Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, and Kentucky.

A brief account of the work of the Good Roads train may perhaps be of interest. It was in operation during the months of April, May, June, July, and August, of the present year, through the Missis-

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sippi Valley, from New Orleans to Chicago. The Illinois Central Railroad furnished the train, including nine cars for machinery, one car for laborers, and one combination dining and sleeping car for road experts, officials, and press representatives. The railroad company also provisioned the train, and furnished part of the skilled and common labor. The machinery was donated by the manufacturers, who also supplied experts to operate it. I accompanied the train on its initial trip from Chicago to New Orleans, and through a portion of Mississippi, delivering addresses at several conventions. I left the train at Jackson, Mississippi; but Mr. M. O. Eldridge, my assistant, joined it there, and represented the office during the remainder of the trip. Road Expert Charles T. Harrison of this office accompanied the expedition.

The Good Roads train visited the following places, where sample roads, varying in length from half a mile to a mile and a half, were built, and where the officers of the National Association organize permanent local and State associations: Flossmore, Illinois; New Orleans, Louisiana; Natchez, Vicksburg, Greenville, Clarksdale, Oxford, Grenada, McComb City and Jackson, Mississippi; Jackson, Tennessee; Louisville, Hopkinsville, and Owensboro, Kentucky; Cairo and Effingham, Illinois. About twenty miles of earth, stone, and gravel roads were built, and fifteen large and enthusiastic conventions were held. The numbers attending these conventions and witnessing the work were very large, in nearly every instance being more than 1,000 persons, and in some cases 2,000. Among those present were the leading citizens and officials, including governors, mayors, congressmen, members of legislatures, judges of the county courts, and road officials. This was undoubtedly the most successful campaign ever waged for good roads. The expedition has been of great service to the cause, especially to the people of the Mississippi Valley.

The many requests that come to the Office of Public Road Inquiries in Washington for literature describing methods of road construction, for analyses of material, and for the advice and assistance of our special agents prove that there is throughout the United States a lively and rapidly growing interest in the good-roads question. In satisfying this interest where it exists, in creating it where it does not, in disseminating practical information, and in giving practical instruction, the Government is doing a small share toward the improvement of the public roadways. That the advice and assistance which it offers are coming to be more and more in demand is an encouraging sign for the future of this important factor in our material prosperity.

MARTIN DODGE.

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CRISPI AND ITALIAN UNITY.

HISTORY has been called by a French writer "a collection of conventional fables." Pliny, of old, uttered a similar saying. There seems occasionally to be a great deal of truth in that satirical remark. Quite recently, in the many obituary notices of the prominent Italian statesman, Crispi, we have seen him almost invariably spoken of as the organizer of the Sicilian insurrection of 1860, which brought about the establishment of Italian unity, and which may be said to have led indirectly to other events of colossal importance in European history. Crispi, no doubt, had his notable part in that rising, even as he had had already in the Sicilian insurrection of 1848–49. But, as a matter of fact, neither he nor — as many may learn with astonishment — even Garibaldi had planned the revolutionary movement of 1860, though the famous leader of the Red Shirts, the courageous defender of the Roman Republic of 1849, carried that movement to its final triumph by the overthrow of Bourbon rule at Palermo and Naples.

The true facts are the following. I can state them with all the greater certainty, for I was connected by intimate friendship with Mazzini — "the Apostle of Italian Unity and Freedom," as he has been called — from 1859, and with Garibaldi from 1860, down to the death of both. More than this, I was personally present at the first secret deliberations in London concerning the proposed Sicilian rising, which virtually made Italy.

Here I may mention that, before Napoleon III addressed his famous speech to the Austrian ambassador, Baron Hübner, on New Year's day, 1859, Mazzini, who had always excellent information at his command, was able to communicate to me the whole of the French plan of campaign, including even an intended early conclusion of peace after the first victories over Austria. It was on the eve of that speech, which some months afterward was to be translated into warlike deeds, that I met Mazzini in the house of the aged Mr. Craufurd, who had previously held a diplomatic post, as a representative of England, at Florence. There was also present my friend Aurelio Saffi, once the colleague of

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Mazzini in the Government of the Roman Republic. I have before me the notes of the remarkable details Mazzini then gave. These notes I made immediately on coming home, so extraordinary did the communication in question appear to me. Without going into a fuller statement, I may say that Mazzini foretold the speedy outbreak of war, saying that merely the wresting of Lombardy from Austria was the object, and that peace would shortly be concluded if the Government at Vienna, after a defeat, declared itself ready to enter into negotiations. Everything turned out as he foretold.

To that war, initiated by the "Man of December," who had murdered the Roman Republic and then murdered the French Republic, Mazzini was opposed. He feared from it the substitution of French influence for that of the Hapsburgs, as well as a loss of Italian territory. He said to me in Mr. Craufurd's house, in the presence of Count Saffi, who as a Republican had dropped his title of nobility: "Garibaldi has conditionally accepted Cavour's offer to gather the revolutionary elements under the Sardinian banner. I myself have been asked by the Working Men's Association at Genoa whether this procedure was to be accepted. I immediately answered, 'No!'"

Mazzini also feared at that time that between Napoleon and the Czar of Russia intrigues were going on which would endanger the security of Europe. For all these reasons he, and a large number of Italian exiles, disapproved of an alliance between the French despot and the Piedmontese Government at Turin. In Mazzini's weekly organ, "Pensiero e Azione" (Thought and Action), a declaration was published by way of protest against such an alliance. It was signed by himself, Saffi, Maurizio Guadrio, Crispi (the later Italian Premier), Alberto Mario, Rosolino Pilo (who in 1860 first became commander of the insurrectionary forces in Sicily), Filippo de Boni, Vitale de Tivoli, and many others.

Their views were shared by me. I had occasion then to publish a series of leading articles in a London Liberal paper, which had been steadfast in its opposition to Napoleon III and in its warm sympathies with the democratic cause all over Europe. These articles Mazzini was glad to use, in an Italian version, in his "Pensiero e Azione."

Garibaldi, as before mentioned, took a different course. He entered the service of the King of Sardinia as a general of volunteers, but soon found himself much hampered by Bonapartist and Cavourian influences. It was evident that the real object in enlisting the "revolutionary element" under the Sardinian banner had been to neutralize and paralyze it, seeing that, irrespective of its Republican leanings, it aimed at the

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absolute unity of Italy. Now, the scheme of the French Emperor was, merely to aggrandize Piedmont in the North, while he was to take Savoy and Nice;[1] to plant in Tuscany a French satrapy in the person of Prince Napoleon; to restore in Naples and Sicily a Murat dynasty; to leave the Papal States intact; and to establish a kind of French suzerainty over a loose confederation, composed of all these various Italian States, by appointing the Pope as the President of the confederation, and declaring France to be the Protector of the Pope.

Both Garibaldi and Mazzini, though personally in those days not on the best terms — as I had occasion frequently enough to observe — were the sworn antagonists of this scheme. In truth, it has unfortunately been the policy of France since olden times to keep countries near her borders in a state of loose confederation, and jealously to counteract all their efforts at stricter national union. Royal, Imperial, and even Republican Governments in France have ever pursued, on that point, the same policy. The Roman Republic, at whose head Mazzini, Saffi, and Armellini had stood in 1849, was overthrown by President Louis Bonaparte, with the assent of the Legislative Assembly of a Republican France.

When the peace of Villafranca was concluded, Mazzini and his friends exerted themselves with might and main to turn the state of things into a better course, to forward the true movement for unity, to overcome Cavourian hesitation or antagonism, and to cast out the nefarious Bonapartist influence. Cavour, it must be remembered, had by origin and education more of the French than of the Italian character. Even as regards language he was more fluent in French than in Italian. To a union of the South with the North of Italy he was at first quite opposed, for both racial and constitutional reasons. All the more easily was he amenable to insinuations from the Tuileries. In fact, it is be-

[1] From a letter which appeared in the "Kölnische Zeitung" as early as January, 1852, it may be seen that Louis Napoleon had formed his plans even then. The Paris correspondent of that paper, who received frequent communications from the Elysée, wrote as follows: "If I am correctly informed, and I have every reason to believe so, Louis Napoleon intends, even as at home, so also abroad, to introduce an active policy instead of the merely negative one, as it was until now. . . . The President proposes to urge the solution of the Eastern Question, and, in doing so, to be on the side of England. He then will claim England's assistance in Italy, where, in alliance with Piedmont, he means to intervene against Austria. The Republic (France) is to be aggrandized by Savoy and Nice; and Sardinia is to be indemnified by Parma, Piacenza, Guastalla, Modena, and Lucca. For the carrying out of this plan no war will be shrunk from, whilst England will have to take care that the Italian war does not develop into a European one."

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lieved that, originally, he would not have minded in the least the introduction of a Murat dynasty in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies.

For three months Mazzini was secretly in Italy, endeavoring to urge statesmen and commanders of troops forward on the path of the movement toward full national unity. Hidden in the house of a plain man of the people, named Dolfi, a baker, who was earnestly active in the national cause, Mazzini entered into correspondence with Baron Ricasoli, who was at the head of the Administration of the States of Central Italy, and who later became Prime Minister, after Cavour. When Mazzini returned to London he showed me the official proof of this communication with Ricasoli. It is not that that moderate constitutionalist statesman favored the plans of the ex-triumvir; but, at any rate, he did not approve of the subserviency shown by Cavour to the French Emperor.

To the astonishment of many of his friends, Mazzini wrote a public letter to King Victor Emanuel offering his coöperation for the foundation of full Italian unity. For the sake of Italy, he said, he would be ready, after the deed had been successfully done, to return into exile, and to die there in the Republican principles of his youth. Confidentially, through an intermediary, he proposed to the King that he should give his tacit assent to a movement in Southern Italy, and that either through Ricasoli, or through Farini, he should send a word to Garibaldi to that effect. In case Austria interfered by force of arms, Victor Emanuel was to declare openly in favor of the planned insurrection in the Two Sicilies. To bring about such a rising in the South, Mazzini said, would be "an easy matter." Of this secret proposal to Victor Emanuel, Garibaldi was not informed.

It is stated that the King was much impressed by the public letter of Mazzini, in which the chief of the Republicans had appealed to him in these words: "Be dictator during the war; King of Italy afterward if you choose; and may God bless you and the nation united by you!" Thereupon Brofferio, the famous lawyer and historical writer, was asked to propose to Mazzini that he should see the King in person. Mazzini was ready to do so on condition that Victor Emanuel would give pledges for the immediate junction of the Central Italian States to the Kingdom of Sardinia without consulting the French Emperor; that he would support a rising in Southern Italy, if one should occur there; and that, finally, Venice should be wrested from Austria by the combined forces of the army and of revolutionary volunteers. This promise the King would not make, and the interview did not take place.

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Meanwhile Mazzini had given out publicly the watchword: "*Al Centro, al Centro, mirando al Sud!*" (To Central Italy, with the South as the aim!) To Garibaldi he now proposed, by an intermediary, that he, as general of volunteers, should one morning suddenly give the order of command to march forth against Rome, so as to get the revolutionary ball rolling. In Naples, and still more in Sicily, preparations for a rising had been made by agents of Mazzini. Garibaldi accepted. It was agreed that the King and his philo-French Minister should not be told of it, though it was still hoped that Victor Emanuel, if the deed were done, would finally yield with a good grace. Unfortunately, Garibaldi imagined he was quite sure of the King, with whom he was then on most intimate terms. He, therefore, told him, contrary to agreement. The King told Cavour, who forthwith reported to Paris. At once, a thundering telegram came from the Tuileries, smashing the whole design.

In Italian affairs it is not always easy to get at the complete inner history of conspiracies and events. Even in Garibaldi's "Autobiography" there are curious gaps and merely veiled hints. For instance, his triumphal entry into London in 1864, his prolonged stay there, and his sudden departure — about which I know a good deal, as I was the first to see him on his arrival in the Isle of Wight and also the first to be told how Gladstone brought about his enforced departure — are not mentioned in a single word! However, in regard to the plan of marching suddenly into the Roman States, Garibaldi, many years afterward, wrote at least this:

> "The King did not give his consent to the invasion of the Pontifical States. It was his usual reserve, very natural in his position, in the presence of a revolutionist — even as a year afterward he refused in succession his assent to the Sicilian Expedition and to the passage of the Straits."

Garibaldi also wrote in his work, that he had cause to expect something from the King in regard to the entry of the Church into the Roman States.

Manifestly, though Garibaldi does not say so explicitly, it was he who had informed the King of Mazzini's plan; and the King refused to give his consent to the revolutionist who spoke in his presence. On November 26, 1859, Garibaldi resigned his position as general. Thus, once more Mazzini's scheme of a revolution in the South had been nipped in the bud.

The friends of Mazzini and he himself — for this I can vouch from

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his repeated remarks to me — treated the action of Garibaldi as a breach of confidence, if not worse. They were wild with rage about his having broached the matter to the King. No doubt, he had acted from a mistaken feeling of full trust in the King; being unaware of the secret offer previously made by Mazzini himself to Victor Emanuel and declined by him. From that time there was frequent friction between the two leaders. As I was intimate with both, I often endeavored to smooth out the difficulties. Each of them, I may mention, communicated to me beforehand the enterprises they were separately bent upon. On such occasions I had always to keep that information to myself, seeing that the two leaders of the "Party of Action" went each his own way. When, after some miscarried attempt of that kind, I spoke out in favor of Garibaldi, Mazzini would sometimes exclaim in a good-humored, but half-nettled way: "Ah! *your* Garibaldi!" Our close friendship remained the same, and our coöperation went on as before.

Immediately after the plan of making Garibaldi's volunteer regiments enter the Roman States, in 1859, from the land side, had failed through their leader's imprudent communication to the King, Mazzini formed another plan, into which Garibaldi at first was not initiated, lest he should once more mar it by a mistaken confidence in higher quarters. This plan was the revolutionizing of Sicily as a starting-point for doing the same at Naples, and afterward at Rome, where finally a National Assembly was to be convoked to work out a Constitution for all Italy. The question as to how to bring over Sicily to the national Italian idea was, however, a difficult and thorny one, though it was comparatively easy, as Mazzini had said before to the King, to raise an insurrection there against the Bourbons. The people of that island, from early times, had always had separatist tendencies of the most pronounced kind. Between these and the Neapolitans no love was lost. They rather looked upon each other as hereditary foes. There are not a few nasty proverbs by which the Sicilians used to express their contempt for the Neapolitans on the mainland.[1] In 1848–49 the Sicilians had bravely and gloriously risen against Bourbon tyranny. It was not, however, in the cause of Italian unity, but to form a sovereign island state of their own. They offered the crown to a younger son of the King of Sardinia, Charles Albert. In 1859 Mazzini, the out-and-out defender of full national unity, was for some time much in fear lest the Sicilians should again follow "particularist," autonomous lines. It was

[1] For instance: "God first created the world, and then made the Straits of Messina, so as to separate men from fools."

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of importance, therefore, to put in the foreground native Sicilian leaders who had been won over to the idea of Italian unity.

Until then, it must be owned, only the smallest possible minority of Sicilian malcontents had been adherents of that cause. Even when Maurizio Guadrio, one of the staunchest adherents of Mazzini, made a secret visit to the island in 1859, in order to come into personal contact with groups of men devoted to the national Italian idea, he found matters still somewhat unsatisfactory in that respect. However, the difficulty was finally overcome. Rosolino Pilo and Crispi, both of whom had already given their proofs in 1848–49, together with Corrao, all three Sicilians born, were chosen to officer the new movement against Bourbon rule. Each of them was a strong friend of unity. Crispi, moreover, at that time, was an ardent Republican and adherent of Mazzini.

I well remember how early Mazzini, in his small room in London, gave me knowledge of his new plan. I vividly see before my mind's eye the tall, red-haired, clear-eyed Sicilian leader, with whom, in my presence, he discussed the coming enterprise. That fair Southerner may well have been a descendant of one of those Normans who had once held sway in Sicily. He had nothing of the typical Italian in him, as little as had Garibaldi, whose very name is a Teutonic one, meaning "spear-bold," or "bold in war." Garibaldi's own physical appearance — red-haired, strong-faced, blue-eyed, of steady and measured movement — proclaimed him as one who hailed from the old Teutonic race, which gave Lombardy its name. Mazzini, on his part — dark-eyed, dark-haired, with quickly moving features, and full of lively gesture — was typically Italian. The contrast between the tall and fair Sicilian and the middle-sized Mazzini could not have been more pronounced.

As an emissary of Mazzini, Francisco Crispi went to Sicily, disguised as an Argentine merchant, and under the assumed name of "Manuel Tareda." To the post of military leader of the insurrection Rosolino Pilo was appointed. He was surrounded with a staff of Mazzinians. The movement had been started by Pilo with the pledge that the question of a Republic should not be raised. At first, Garibaldi was not told of the new enterprise; but when things had become somewhat riper he was approached, because it was felt that his name and military experience would be the most effective help and of the best augury for success. The pecuniary means and the arms necessary for beginning the rising had been collected by Mazzini, and they were small indeed. The first money came from Scotland, through Mr. John MacAdam, of Glasgow, also a simple but zealously active man of the people, and a com-

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mon friend of Mazzini and myself. Garibaldi, in later years, acknowledged this timely service to the cause from Scottish friends of Italy. It took a considerable time, however, before Garibaldi could be induced to land with the famous Thousand at Marsala. This event did not occur until May 11, 1860 — fully six weeks after the rising had begun in Sicily under the leadership of Rosolino Pilo, who was truly the pioneer of the movement. In one of the battles Pilo fell from a bullet. Well do I remember his face and figure as I saw him in Mazzini's dwelling where the preparations were discussed.

From Caprera, Garibaldi had written thus to Pilo even as late as March 15, 1860: "At the present moment I do not hold a revolutionary movement in any part of Italy to be advisable unless there is a very strong likelihood of success." In vain did Pilo write to him again, in answer to that letter:

"Think it well over, General! An insurrection in Sicily implies that of the whole South. It is more than ever wanted at this moment, if the creation of one Italy be the aim. To put it off would be to promote the schemes of diplomacy, and give time to Austria to prepare reinforcements and to gain alliances which at present she is lacking. Delay is what Napoleon wishes, in order to place a member of his family on the throne of Naples. By putting an end to delay, we shall be able to prevent the shameful sale of Nizza [Garibaldi's native town], and to free poor Venice. Remember, General, that in the South we have an army and a navy [that of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies] which are necessary to our national independence, but which we cannot make our own without a popular rising. Nothing remains now but to greet you, General, from the bottom of my heart, and to wish you new glory in Sicily for the completion of our fatherland's resurrection."

This strong appeal induced Garibaldi to come over from Caprera to the mainland, and to converse with a number of patriotic leaders, including Crispi, Bixio, and Bertani, who were working together with the Mazzinians. But still Garibaldi could not make up his mind. Even in April, when Pilo and Corrao were already acting in Sicily, he seemed very doubtful. A fresh pressing message was sent to him from Palermo. Before the special agent who brought it to him Garibaldi stood musingly, with arms akimbo, his head slightly inclined, and his eyes fixed to the ground, murmuring: "But France? But Cavour?"

Here is Garibaldi's own testimony as to his long hesitation. In his "Autobiography" he says:

"Rosolino Pilo and Corrao were on the point of starting for Sicily. As I knew the character of the man [Cavour] who ruled the destiny of Northern Italy, and as I had not yet shaken off the scepticism into which the recent events of the last months of 1859 had thrown me, I advised them against action if more decisive news about the rising did not come in. I threw the ice of the man of experience on the ardent, vigorous resolution of youth. But it was written in the Book of Fate that icy cold-

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ness and doctrinaire pedantry would in vain place hindrances in the way of the victorious march of the Italian cause. I advised against action. But must not the Italian be wherever the Italian struggles for the national cause against tyranny?"

So, after all, he went. And it was he who carried the Revolution to its final triumph.

It is but fair to mention that Garibaldi had strongly exerted himself to get for the furtherance of the national cause the arms which were at that time publicly subscribed for under the title of "A Million Guns." Cavour, however, foiled his efforts. Cavour did nothing but confiscate the arms and money destined for patriotic aims wherever he could lay his hands on those practical means of national deliverance. Garibaldi's "Autobiography" is full of indignant language about Cavour's "petty intrigues and despicable opposition, which persecuted our expedition to the last." When that expedition of the Thousand, supported by daily increasing popular enthusiasm, could no longer be prevented from starting, and Garibaldi at last sailed away, though he had only been able to secure two ramshackle vessels, Cavour hoped that "this fool" (*questo pazzo*) would come to grief in mid-sea — perhaps be captured by a French cruiser.

Even after Sicily had been wrested from Bourbon rule, King Victor Emanuel — whose name Garibaldi had always put at the top of his proclamations as that of the coming ruler of Italy — wrote, or was made to write, a letter ordering him not to cross the Straits. That, of course, was done in accordance with a compact between Cavour and Napoleon III. Had the English fleet not placed itself between the French fleet and the Garibaldians who crossed over, it would have been difficult to extend the revolutionary movement to the Kingdom of Naples on the mainland.

During the farther triumphant progress of the Liberator — so Garibaldi was henceforth called — Cavour cunningly wrote a few lines now and then, with an eye to future possibilities. He also set a powerful intrigue on foot for depriving Garibaldi of the Dictatorship, in order to reap the fruit of his achievements. This was all the wily, half-French, Piedmontese statesman did. There is a letter of Garibaldi, dated Naples, September 15, 1860, and addressed to Sig. Brusco, a distinguished lawyer at Genoa, in which the then Dictator of the Two Sicilies says:

"You assure me that Cavour wishes it to be believed that he is in agreement with me, and that he is my friend. I can assure you that, ready as I always am to sacrifice any personal feeling whatsoever on the altar of my fatherland, I can never recon-

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cile myself to men who have humiliated the national dignity and sold an Italian province."

In his plain-spoken way, Garibaldi once used about the King's chief Minister even such a damning expression as, "*Questa canaglia!*" He sent a message to Victor Emanuel asking for Cavour's dismissal. With difficulty he was brought, later on, to meet Cavour once more. In London again, in 1864, Garibaldi showed his aversion to Cavour very strongly in conversation with me.

When planning the Sicilian rising Mazzini had agreed that the question of the Republic should not be raised. Some months before that revolutionary event he sent the following to Garibaldi as the programme:

"Italy free; Rome our capital; the French forced to withdraw. I understand the times; I respect the will of the country; I shall not act against the King. I shall not conspire for a Republic. I only speak of unity. I insist on the annexations [that is, of Tuscany and the Central Italian States to the Kingdom of Sardinia]; and should we succeed in Sicily or elsewhere, the only thing I insist upon is immediate annexation. If the country chooses a king, let it be so! It is for him to prove himself worthy by throwing off his vassaldom to France, and frankly accepting the Nation. What is now of the greatest importance is the rising in Sicily, and, together with it, or at once afterward, an insurrection as far as the Abruzzi. I believe that if we are heartily and loyally united we shall succeed."

When Garibaldi at last yielded to the entreaties that he should come over to Sicily, he did so with the declaration that the programme should be: "Italy and Victor Emanuel!" Yet he, too, remained at heart a Republican. He declared himself so in 1864, in London, when I took him from my house, in the Duke of Sutherland's carriage, first to Ledru-Rollin and then to Louis Blanc, the two exiled members of the Provisional Government of France in 1848, whose acquaintance Garibaldi had not made until then.

I have it on the testimony of Mazzini that from Sicily the movement was to be continued up to Rome, and that then a Constituent National Assembly should be convoked there. Venice was not to be touched for the nonce, unless the force of circumstances made it necessary to do so. A number of men on Rosolino Pilo's, as well as afterward on Garibaldi's, staff were won over to this plan. Garibaldi himself was said to have consented. This latter fact results, indeed, from several manifestoes of his during his Dictatorship, in which he said that the annexations to the Kingdom "shall be proclaimed from the heights of the Quirinal."

The King, however, sent word to Garibaldi that "no attack upon

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Rome would be allowed as long as the troops of France remained there." Everything was done, moreover, to harass Garibaldi, and to make his position impossible. At last, after having greeted Victor Emanuel near the Volturno with the classically simple exclamation: "*Re d'Italia!*" ("King of Italy!") he suddenly resigned the Dictatorship. After snatching a poor little meal in a stable, the man who had practically founded Italian unity left almost penniless for his island home in Caprera.

Before doing so, he had offered the pro-Dictatorship to our friend, Aurelio Saffi, who remained a Republican in principle down to his death. With Saffi I had been in frequent correspondence during all these stormy events. He, however, felt unable to accept Garibaldi's proposal, much honored as he was by the offer. For many years after Mazzini's death, which occurred in 1872, Saffi continued in Italy the propaganda of democratic principles, after he had for a short time, in the sixties, been a member of the Italian Parliament.

Crispi, on his part, after the establishment of national unity, separated himself from Mazzini, saying that "the Monarchy alone can unite us, whilst the Republic would divide us." The pamphlet he wrote to that effect he sent to Saffi, who gave that very copy to me as a present. It is in my library. On its title-page there is a friendly inscription to Saffi in the peculiarly small and thin, somewhat scratchy, handwriting of Crispi. There are passages in the pamphlet from which one would never have thought that Crispi could, later on, turn away from France toward Germany. In fact, he had passed — so I know from my old friend, Wilfrid de Fonvielle, the scientist, political writer, and aeronaut — as very philo-French during the time he resided at Paris as an exile. In this matter, too, Crispi changed *toto cælo*, even as he had done in regard to Republican principles. But in supporting the Triple Alliance — which had already been established before he assumed the Premiership — he certainly acted for the best interests of his country. Without that alliance Italy would have been at the mercy of France, and would have been compelled to incur even greater expense for her own military and naval security. In that respect, the compact of the Triple Alliance imposes no special obligations upon Italy. She can keep her army and navy as she likes, either large or small.

The facts I have here given are *la vérité vraie*, as the French say, who are fond of very fine distinctions in reference to truth. But real truth has a hard struggle to make itself heard in politics even more than in ordinary life.

KARL BLIND.

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THE ETHICS OF ANCIENT AND MODERN ATHLETICS.

In discussing athletic matters it is often forgotten how very recent is the widespread interest in amateur sport. The modern system of athletic sports was practically introduced at the beginning of the last century — about 1812 — by the Military College at Sandhurst. It was nearly fifty years later, however, before the English public schools and universities found a place for athletic sports among themselves, and made them, as they now are, both in England and America, almost a part of the curriculum. Advisory committees of graduates, paid "coaches," and the participation by the faculties of colleges and universities in the regulation of athletic sports are all innovations of the last few years.

It is not so much cause for surprise, then, that rules and regulations are still imperfect, and that the ethics of athletic sports are still under discussion — discussion frequently of an irritating kind. Trained athletes became a professional class in Greece as long ago as 350 B.C., and for centuries their rules, their methods, and their manners were practically the only criteria by which such contests might be judged.

There are certain circumstances which may well comfort those who are often disheartened at the apparently slow progress made in ousting both the fact and the spirit of professionalism from our modern athletic sports. At any rate we have arrived at a point where professional methods are frowned upon by all who are sincerely interested in amateur athletics, at a point, too, where unmanly behavior, either in defeat or in victory, is generally considered cause for shame and repentance. It may be doubted, indeed, whether physical contests between young men have ever been conducted on so high a plane as now, or whether sport has ever before been made to minister so directly to the moral and mental, as well as the physical, development of our "young barbarians all at play." The *laudator temporis acti*, however, is as much at home in athletics as in morals and manners. All Harvard men have heard the Greek athlete lauded at the expense of his modern prototype, and the vulgarity of modern athletic contests dwelt upon at length; and doubtless in other classic shades are men of profound learning who deplore our degeneracy as athletes. All this rather superficial commentary

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on comparative athletics has its effect in inducing many people to believe that we have made little or no progress in our endeavors to make sport contribute, and that notably, to the education of our youth.

No doubt Greek sculpture has had more to do with the sentiment about the superiority of the ancient athlete over the modern than any real knowledge of the subject. The few relics we possess of the Periclean age of Greek art have been used as typical of the physical development of that time. As a matter of fact, they were probably no more typical than Mr. French's Minute-Man is typical of the sculpture of an age which rejoices in such amorphous artistic callosities as are to be found in New York, and even in Boston.

But whether or not the physical development of the ancients was more symmetrical, their ethical standards in such matters we should now consider beneath contempt. Every school-boy in these days is taught, not only by his masters, but by the overwhelming influence of his school-fellows, that he may succeed by fair means only, and that he must not lose heart when he fails. Or, as it has been said by one of our greatest literary athletes: "It is not our business in this life to succeed, but to continue our failures in good spirits." Golden words these are, in days of commercial and social scrambling, when the Ten Commandments are mere rungs on the ladder of financial and social success. At any rate, in our school and college athletics no such cynicism exists, and commercial methods are strictly debarred. But whether this was true of the athletics of two thousand years ago one may well doubt.

We are fortunate in having, for purposes of comparison, a detailed account of certain athletic games from the pen of one of the most distinguished poets of the golden age of Rome. He was writing for his countrymen, and of his countrymen. The epic which contains this account was written primarily to glorify Rome and the Julian house to which the great Augustus belonged. The poet himself was a young man. He died when only fifty-one years old, and his sympathies were, therefore, the sympathies of a comparatively young man. He was writing to please, not to malign; for, as we should phrase it nowadays, he was in receipt of many favors from the Administration. He was extolling the ancestors of those who were to buy and read his poem. It is to be supposed, then, that he would only dwell upon the pleasing traits, the daring deeds, the distinguished and glorious aspects, of the life of that time; that he would write of the ancestors of Augustus, of the houses of Memmius, Sergius, Cluentius, and others, only in the most complimentary terms.

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It is important to call attention to this point, and to emphasize it, because in the games to be described later the participants conducted themselves, at least according to modern ethical athletic standards, in a way that should have made their descendants blush to own the relationship. Though the description is not a description of games that actually took place, it is none the less a fair account; for if the poet erred in over-elaboration or in exaggeration, he may be counted upon to have made his heroes not worse, but better, than they were. We find that tales of the war of 1860–64, or of the war of 1898, lose nothing of their complimentary and glorious character in the telling as the years go by. So our Latin poet, in his epic, may be trusted to tell of what he thought most welcome to the vanity and patriotism of those for whom he was writing. He believed, and his contemporaries believed, that to play games as he writes of them was the best way to play them. If this, then, is the kind of sport that Virgil's contemporaries applauded as a picture, and a flattering one, of the past, there is no reason why we should not consider the ethical standards held up by him for approbation as fairly representative of those of the Augustan Age.

First, there is a boat-race. Four boats enter: the Pristis, commanded by Mnestheus; the Chimæra, commanded by Gyas; the Centaur, commanded by Sergestus; and the Scylla, commanded by Cloanthus. On a rock at some distance from the shore a branch of oak is placed, and this is to be the turning-point for the contestants. The distance out and back is not given, though the rock is said to be "apart in the sea and over against the foaming beach," and where "the swollen waves beat" upon it. The boats start at a signal given by a trumpet. Gyas in the Chimæra gets away first, with Cloanthus in the Scylla a close second; while the Centaur and the Pristis are having it nip and tuck behind them. All goes well until they near the rock which marks the turning-point. Gyas, who still holds a short lead, calls out to his pilot Menoetes not to steer so wide of the rock, but to make a closer turn. The pilot fears, for some reason, that there may be a hidden reef, and as he steers wide to avoid any such danger, Cloanthus, in the Scylla, steers to the left under the stern of the Chimæra, shaves the rock in safety, and turns for home in the lead. As to Gyas, "then indeed grief burned fierce through his strong frame, and tears sprang out on his cheeks." He entirely forgets himself, seizes the old pilot, and flings him bodily into the sea. This feat of infantile fury is apparently looked upon by the other oarsmen as a huge joke; for "the Teucrians laughed out as he fell and as he swam, and laugh to see him spitting the salt water from his chest."

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The old man is left to take care of himself as best he may, and Gyas takes the steersman's place himself; but he is so incompetent that he is caught and passed by Mnestheus in the Pristis, and only succeeds in finishing in the third place because Sergestus lands his boat, the Centaur, on the rocks, by steering too close to the turning-point. At the end everybody gets a prize, even Sergestus, who arrives in his badly battered boat amid the jeers of this sportsmanlike crowd.

With the literary value of this piece of writing we are not now dealing; but it is not amiss to refer parenthetically to the two illustrations wherein the boat of Mnestheus is compared to a dove scared from its nest, and the Centaur to a snake bruised by a passing wheel. For our purpose it is enough to call attention to the shouting, the scolding, and the weeping of the contestants; to the cowardice of Gyas; and to the equanimity with which Æneas and the crowd of spectators look upon these childish ebullitions of temper, as being part of the game. Cloanthus, when he sees that Mnestheus has left Sergestus fast upon the rocks, and has even overhauled and passed Gyas, gets upon the poop of his vessel and delivers an oration addressed to the gods of the waters, in which he promises to sacrifice a white bull to them if he comes in first. The whole picture is of youths of little self-control and of explosive temper, who have had no schooling in the laws that should govern contests between friendly amateurs, who are bent upon winning by fair means or foul, and who at the very thought of losing give way to hysterical despair.

In the next contest, a foot-race, the judicious chronicler grieves indeed to find all notions of fair play thrown to the winds. Those who enter for this race are: Nisus, Salius, Euryalus, Helymus, Diores, Patron, Panopes, and others. Nisus gets away first with a good lead upon his opponents, Salius being second, Euryalus third, and Helymus and Diores close together behind. Everything goes well, with the men running in this order, until near the finishing line, where the ground is slippery with the blood of some bullocks lately killed upon the spot. Nisus, still in the lead, slips and falls, but recovers himself sufficiently to roll over in front of Salius and bring him also to the ground. This he does, so says the poet naïvely, because Euryalus, the third man, is a dear friend of his, and by thus bringing Salius to grief he enables his friend to come in first. Thus, instead of Nisus first, Salius second, and Euryalus third, the race finishes with Euryalus first, Helymus second, and Diores third; Helymus and Diores getting second and third place respectively, through the outrageous trickery of Nisus.

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There follows a rare row. Salius "fills with loud clamor the whole concourse of the vast theatre, demanding restoration of his defrauded prize." Euryalus, who only came in first by the grace of this monstrous blackguardism of Nisus, begins to weep at the thought of losing the first prize. Diores, who had been left well behind, and who gets his third place only through the trickery to Salius, backs up the tears of Euryalus, and his claim for first place, in order that his own claim to third place may not be questioned.

Was ever such a group of athletic mountebanks written of as men and heroes before? We have made progress since then in these matters, in all our sports, whether professional or amateur, except, perhaps, in professional baseball. But none of the spectators, not even pious Æneas, seems in the least surprised by the result of this race. It was no new thing to them apparently. That must have been the spirit in which these contests were generally conducted. Æneas declines to interfere in the matter, and gives first, second, and third prize to whimpering Euryalus, to Helymus, and to grasping Diores, respectively. To Salius, however, as solace for his misfortune, he gives the hide of an African lion whose paws are inlaid with gold.

Then follows a piece of impudence probably unparalleled in the history of athletics. Nisus, whose dishonorable action was the cause of all the trouble, appears and asks, if so much be given to the vanquished and to the fallen, "what fit recompense will you give to Nisus?" Various gifts adapted to the manners and methods of Nisus at once suggest themselves to the modern athlete. Tar, feathers, and a rail to ride on; the toe of a quickly lifted and well-directed boot — all or any of these seem appropriate. But, no; that ineffable prig Æneas laughs and gives him as compensation for his villany a handsome shield, calling him at the same time an "excellent youth"! In some of our military annals there have been traces of boasting, of jealousy, of bitterness, and of downright self-glorification. But outside of the police-court records nothing, for lack of chivalry, for contemptible meanness, for impudent self-assertion, equals this story of the foot-race at the anniversary of the funeral of Anchises.

Imagine a race with two Harvard men, a Yale man, and a man each from Columbia and Princeton entered. The Harvard man, leading, falls; twists himself over; grabs the Yale man, who is running second, by the legs; upsets him; and thus enables his Harvard mate, who is running third, to come in first. Then imagine all these young gentlemen grouped in front of the grand-stand. The Harvard man who came in

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first is blubbering away, with his fists in his eyes, lest he be deprived of first prize; the Yale man, who was bowled over, is shouting his grievance; the Columbia man, who by the series of accidents gained third place, is insisting upon his right to profit by the trickery; and one and all of them, including the Harvard man who had been the cause of all the trouble, demanding to be given something. The modern imagination stumbles at the bare outline of such a predicament. Our whole standard of conduct, all our notions of fair play, all our ideas of decency have changed; and we can no more believe such manners possible to-day than we can bring ourselves to believe in Neptune and Hercules.

But all this is poetry, says some one. These games were not intended to be taken seriously, either by the poet or by his readers. That phase of the subject was dealt with at the beginning of this article. The games were not real, but the spirit of them was. There are athletic contests described by Shakspere, by Scott, by Kipling, by Stevenson, and it would be quite fair to judge, from the imaginative writings of these authors, of the manners and of the ethics of the age described. The clothes, the weapons, the surroundings, the writer makes appropriate; but the spirit and the customs of those he holds up to us as heroes are the spirit and the customs that he, the author, regards as the most manly and the most dignified.

Virgil's epic stands in much the same relation to the men of the Augustan Age as do Shakspere's historical plays to the men of the Elizabethan Age. Both men were writing imaginative history, and Virgil was as little tempted to hold up his actors to ridicule and scorn as was Shakspere. Here and there are despicable characters, to be sure; but it is understood that they are despicable, and Shakspere never for a moment allows his readers to suspect him of sympathizing with them. The same is true of Kipling and of Stevenson. But these figures on the stage at the games presided over by Æneas are held up to us to admire, and the great poet is only mirroring the ethics of his time when he pictures them as heroes. He no more suspects Gyas and Nisus of being young cads, even though he himself created them, than do they themselves, or Æneas and his companions. Virgil lived in an atmosphere where such conduct was not unusual on such occasions; in an atmosphere, in short, where in amateur athletics the trickster, the boaster, and the baby all had their place, and all might expect to receive a prize.

The next contest is a boxing-match, and here we seem to hear echoes more familiar to modern ears. Dares, a famous boxer, who in his day

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had sparred with Paris and had beaten Butes, strides into the ring. He brandishes his arms, shakes his shoulders, makes passes in the air, and generally behaves as does the modern circus girl before some particularly hazardous feat. As no one appears, this modest gladiator, imagining that he has things all his own way, blows his own horn as follows: "Goddess-born, if no man dare trust himself to battle, to what conclusion shall I stand? How long is it seemly to keep me?" Thus, in varying phrases, have many of our modern prize-fighters halloed in the columns of the yellow journals. But Dares had scarce finished his modest speech, and the applause of the crowd had hardly died away, when Entellus, urged by Acestes, throws into the ring his huge gauntlets — of oxhide, weighted with lead and iron — and follows them himself. Then more discussion. How familiar is all this! Dares does not like the gloves. They are too big, and too hard. He declines to fight in them. After some pardonable boasting by Entellus, it is finally agreed to fight in gloves provided by Æneas, and the two boxers take their places and begin.

Young Dares is quicker, but Entellus is the more powerful. The fight favors first one and then the other, until Entellus, in attempting a mighty slog with his right, misses Dares and falls to the ground. Acestes rushes in to help him. Entellus, on his feet again, and furious at this mishap, renews the fight with redoubled energy. He chases Dares all over the ring, confusing him with the number and rapidity of his punches. Dares is practically beaten, when Æneas steps in and stops the fight. Dares is carried off on a litter by his friends, "spitting from his mouth clotted blood mingled with teeth." Entellus then tells the crowd how strong he used to be in his younger days, and shows them from what misfortune Dares had been rescued, by drawing off, and felling the bull, his prize, to the ground with a single blow between the horns. It "rolls over, and quivering and lifeless lies along the ground." As a last taunt to his vanquished enemy, Entellus says, as the bull lies dead at his feet: "This life, Eryx, I give to thee, a better payment than Dares' death." Of course this rhetorical kicking a fellow when he is down marks out Entellus, though old enough to know better, as of much the same type as Gyas, Nisus, Dares, and the rest.

The sparring match seems less absurd to us only because we are somewhat accustomed to our own bullies of the prize-ring of to-day. The combination of pantomimist, peacock, and bully, who poses and talks fifty weeks for every fifty minutes he fights, is so familiar to us, that Dares and Entellus do not so greatly shock us with their boasting,

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their antics, and their lack of magnanimity. We should be dumfounded, however, if at the games in the gymnasium at Harvard, Yale, Groton, or St. Mark's our young athletes, with the gloves on, should indulge themselves in such posturing, or in such vituperation, as passed unnoticed among the companions in arms of the pious Æneas. Fancy a freshman who thinks well of his powers at sparring, dancing on to the floor of the Harvard gymnasium, brandishing his arms about, making feints at an imaginary opponent, side-stepping, and ducking, to show off his agility before his opponent comes in. It is no exaggeration to say that if such a spectacle were possible nine-tenths of the spectators would believe the boy to be half-witted, or, if not that, to be laboring under some momentary lapse of reason due to over-excitement.

Two centuries of athletics show at least that much change for the better. It would be as impossible to-day for a young gentleman to behave as did Dares as it was easy, and apparently quite proper, then. Though there are streaks of rowdyism, of trickery, and of unfair play in our college and school games even now, such things have no signification as they are unpopular and unrepresentative. The college mates of a man who should go blubbering to the judge to give him a prize would wrap him hastily in blankets, carry him off to the dressing-rooms, and excuse him on the ground that he was a bit "off his head." Should the stroke oar of a freshman crew jump on the coxswain of the boat and pitch him overboard for faulty steering, the young man, unless proved to be insane, would never sit in a boat again, and would probably be expelled from college. Self-control, good temper, and "continuing our failures in good spirits" are now recognized as being as much a part of the game as feathering the oar, or as running with the mouth shut, or as knowing how to counter. The ethical side of all these exercises dominates all kinds of athletics, and he who breaks the laws of the spirit of sport is as much a felon in spirit as at law is he who breaks into his neighbor's house.

Of the other games celebrated on this same day little need be said, for there is little that serves the purpose of this discussion. A mast is set up, a pigeon is tied to the end of it, and four archers, among them our old friends Mnestheus and Acestes, shoot for the prizes. The first strikes the mast with his arrow; the second cuts the string that holds the bird; the third brings down the bird as it flies; the fourth, Acestes, has nothing left to shoot at. But the poet, ever ready to make the best of his heroes, tells us that Acestes let fly his arrow into the air, where, to the amazement of the whole company, it was seen to catch fire, and

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to sail like a meteor out of sight among the clouds. There, again, the poet has no mind to discredit the honor of these games. If to us there is in these descriptions much that is silly and treacherous, it is not because the poet has tried to give such an impression. On the contrary, wherever by his art — and a very lofty art it is — he can add solemnity or dignity to the proceedings, he has done so. When he describes what to our notions of manliness are the tricks of the "tough," he does it all unconscious that such manners and such methods are in any way contemptible. These were the athletic ideals of his time; these were the ethical laws by which the athletes of the century before the Christian era governed their games.

It would be interesting to trace the development of manliness in these matters. Whoever has read his Benvenuto Cellini and dipped into the literature of the Italian Renascence, and remembers Scott's "Fair Maid of Perth," "Tom Brown's Schooldays," "Tom Brown at Oxford," "Verdant Green," Aldrich's "Story of a Bad Boy," Robert Grant's delightful description of a boat-race, and the various encounters in Stevenson's stories must see readily enough how we have made progress slowly, perhaps, but steadily. Nowadays we prevent foul play against wild animals by our game laws, and against our beasts of burden by the societies for the prevention of cruelty to animals.

It is hardly to be doubted that the lads who have the good fortune to spend six years at our game-playing schools, like Exeter, Groton, St. Paul's, St. Mark's, and then four years more at college, must enter life with a sense of justice and a repugnance to foul play that will leave a mark upon our whole civilization. The game-playing Englishman has been successful in managing the Hindoos in India, the negroes in South Africa, the Egyptians in Egypt, and the aborigines in Australia and New Zealand. Certainly the Englishman is not of the imaginative temperament that sympathizes readily with those who differ from him socially and religiously. Rather is he to be described as the school-boy described the head-master of his school to his father — "a beast, but a just beast!" This world-wide notion among the weaker peoples of the earth, that one will get fair play at the Englishman's hands, has made England the successful colonizer that she is.

We should demand and expect no less from our own "young barbarians." We have our colonies to govern; we have the poison of the fierce lust of money, for which a wholesome antidote should be provided; we have the rude jostling of the self-advertising social strugglers to beware of; we have in our midst the disease of political corruption, for

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which a remedy is sorely needed; we have a powerful press to tame; we have the fads in religion and in morals, always rampant in secluded communities of active ability and little culture, to meet and vanquish; and, though we are taking matters rather gayly in these days of our youth and prosperity, it needs no prophet to foresee that our Hercules will need some hard training to accomplish all his labors successfully.

In every bit of work, from sawing wood to polishing a poem, it is encouraging to look back and see how much has been done — how many sticks are actually sawn, how many verses are satisfactory in sense and sound. So we may turn back to this literature of our school days, and see that we have gone a long way toward the goal of manliness in our sports and pastimes. Though there is always much to do in turning out a first-rate man, in this particular phase of his development much has already been done. Not only may those who are professionally interested and those who are participants in playing games feel encouraged, but every man who loves his country wisely will welcome any proof that men are more manly than they were. The ideal is a long way off, to be sure, but a little honest praise can do no harm. The critics are always with us! It is something gained that thousands of our boys are being taught to play with all their might, to play fair, and to win if they can. A lad who has had ten years of such training can scarcely fail to retain something of that same spirit when he comes to take part in the real contests of life. Living in the richest and the most unkempt country in the world, where standards are mostly tentative, and where the levelling of a democracy offers huge bribes to wealth, to notoriety, and to popularity, the man who holds that it is not everything to succeed, but that whatever happens he must continue his failures in good spirits, is well worth producing, even at the price, in time and money, of teaching him how to play his games.

PRICE COLLIER.

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THE SMALL COLLEGE AND THE LARGE.

AT a meeting of the graduates of Williams College held recently in Boston, Mr. Bliss Perry, editor of "The Atlantic Monthly," himself a graduate of the college, and for a time a professor at Princeton, said:

"In the large colleges the students have no time to think. In my experience in Princeton I found that the best thinkers were those who came from the little unknown colleges of the Middle West. These men possess a certain power of reflection and of assimilating the few facts which they possess which is not found in the university graduate. The tendency in the university, growing more and more strong, is toward the repression of individual opinion. It takes great courage to stand up and assert yourself against the university mob. The type of men who can do that is what the small college can and should develop."

In commenting upon this newspaper report of his remarks, Mr. Perry writes me, saying:

"The report is a tolerable representation of what I said, but it does not make very clear the point which I was trying to emphasize. We were discussing the function of the small college in preparing men for strictly university work, and it was in connection with this element in the discussion that I said that in my graduate work at Princeton the best thinkers in my classes came from the 'little unknown colleges of the Middle West.' I may have been more fortunate than other men at Princeton who had the conduct of graduate work. I certainly had during the last two or three years of my teaching there an unusually gifted succession of students from the colleges to which I have referred."

At the last commencement of Hamilton College, Hon. Elihu Root, Secretary of War, an alumnus of Hamilton, speaking to his fellow-graduates and others, said:

"I believe that the American boy has better chances for education, for training, for making a true success of his life, in a college of not more than 300 students, removed from the great centres of population, where the students are brought into intimate association with their instructors; where the air is full of college spirit; where he is breathing a scholastic atmosphere year by year; and where the college is the all in all of college life."

In a personal note referring to this report Mr. Root says: "This is about what I said, and is what I think."

In discussing the advantages and the disadvantages of the small college and the large, as in discussing the advantages and disadvantages of

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most institutions and movements, the argument turns upon the definition. One may define the small college as the college in which all the members of one class can be assembled for purposes of recitation in a single room at one time. Such a college would have not over 100 students, or, at most, not over 150. But a college, too, whose numbers do not exceed 300 may be judged to be small. This is the limit named by Secretary Root. A college of less than 300 students would not be called large; and a college of more than 300 and less than 600 would be called large, or small, or of moderate size, according to the standards of comparison. But a college of more than 600 members, having a Senior class of 100 or more, and a Freshman class of 150 or more, would be interpreted as large.

The comprehensive advantage which the small college is supposed to represent is the individuality of attention. The student becomes the object of notice more prolonged, more definite, more personal. He counts for more; he is one in 100 or 300, not one in 1,000. He receives more discriminating thought from professor and faculty. In the class-room he recites oftener, and out of the class-room his welfare is more carefully considered. He is not absorbed in the mass. That symbol of good teaching, "he calleth his own sheep by name," touches him more directly, constantly, powerfully.

The individuality of attention is not confined alone to the teacher as the active, and the student as the passive, force. It relates also to the student as the active, and the teacher as the passive, force. In the small college the professors are the object of more definite attention. Their number is smaller, and the number of subjects each one teaches larger. The personality, therefore, of the teacher is more present to, and more potent over, the student. The teacher is far better known to the student as well as the student to the teacher. The professor of philosophy in Middlebury College is better known to his students than the head of the department of philosophy in Yale College is to his students.

The definiteness of notice has a still further application. It extends to the mutual relations of the students. In a small college or class every member knows every other; in a large college or even class no member knows every other. In a small college the class relation is significant; in a large college it is not significant or is certainly less significant. In a small class is an *esprit de corps* which does not usually obtain in the large. Each member is closer to every other. They fight the same battles; they suffer the same defeats; they win the same victories; they pass through the same experiences; and they live the same life. Simi-

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lar causes, results, conditions, purposes, and motives unite men; and such resulting unions are lasting, beneficent, inspiring.

As a consequence of these and like causes I am inclined to believe that the members and graduates of a small college are more deeply attached to their *alma mater* than are the students and graduates of a large college. As the love of the parent is greater for the crippled child, so the love of the graduate seems greater for the small college. The small college, of course, is presumed to be honest, laborious, devoted to the highest welfare of its men. Daniel Webster should not have said of his college in his great speech in her behalf: "It is . . . a small college; *and yet* there are those who love it"; rather he should have said: "It is . . . a small college, *and* there are those who love it"; or, "It is a . . . small college, and, *therefore*, there are those who love it." The small college has more of life, less of the institution. The small college has more teachers who are professors of things in general. It has more teachers who are interested in students and fewer who are interested in teaching subjects. It is less open to the peril of believing that the final cause of the ordinary college is philosophy and not man. To such personality of attention the student responds. The large college may be more admired, possibly more honored, by its sons; the small college is more loved. This, however, I am inclined to write in rather an interrogative than a declarative mood. For if there be truth in this judgment, the truth has so many exceptions that justice should require one to be remote from the mood of the dogmatist or doctrinaire.

The defender of the large college might at this point properly say that all the advantages which belong to the individuality of attention can be secured in the large college quite as well as in the small college. "Increase the teaching staff to an adequate number, and the large college can look after the individual quite as well as the small." The remark is in a large degree true. But the fact is that the college large in number of students does not usually make itself as proportionately large in the number of instructors. The enlargement of a staff is expensive, and colleges are — and ought to be, but not too much so — poor. The increase of students is often the increase of poverty; every student costing twice or thrice what he pays. But, further, mere numbers alone do not constitute an academic body fitted to educate carefully the individual student. The intellectual, ethical, personal worth of the individual teacher is quite as formative for the individual student as are the mere numbers who give instruction. Be it said that the instructors of a subordinate academic grade in a department are seldom able to do for their students what the

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head of the department is able to do. The head of a department in a small college is usually the whole of the department. Therefore, the personal power brought to bear in the training of the student in the small college may be, even if less varied and diverse, of a higher order.

On the whole it may be said that the conception of student-life is more studious and the organization of student-life more simple in the small than in the large college. Whether this be a disadvantage or an advantage may be open to question. Therefore, the little I have to say respecting this conception and this organization is interjected in a paragraph between the advantages of the small and the advantages of the large college. Yale is distinguished among large colleges for the constancy and regularity of the demand which it makes upon its students for the maintenance of a high standard of scholastic work. The remark is frequently made that it is easy to get into Yale and hard to stay there; and that it is hard to get into Harvard and easy to stay there. What degree of truth or of falsity lies in either side of the duplex remark I will not now pause to discuss. A friend of mine took his first degree at Yale three years ago. A fine fellow he is, and he possesses social and other relations of which one may well be humbly proud. Since graduation he has entered the service of a great railroad, and in this service has already won conspicuous success. I was recently talking with him about his work at Yale. "I did not," he said, "study more than fifteen minutes a day, outside of recitations and lectures, in the last two years of my course. I prepared myself for examination by means of the 'Digest' — a compilation of notes upon the course made by a student who himself is taking the course. In the Sophomore year I did work more than fifteen minutes a day on my studies. But inasmuch as I worked eight hours a day on the 'News' I had not much time for study. In one course, a recitation course in this year, I was not once called up in the whole term. In the Freshman year I worked a good deal more. We were called up to recite pretty regularly."

Whether these conditions are to be considered advantageous or disadvantageous to the student I will not now discuss. But I am giving the testimony of a young man who, of course, is well endowed with brains, and who could probably do more in a quarter of an hour than many could do in four quarters. He spent his time in the last two years, as in the Sophomore, in the promotion of undergraduate interests. I am sure that in most small colleges the student could not have found a sufficient number of undergraduate enterprises to use up his time; and I am also sure the college would have required him every day to be upon his feet

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in the recitation room. And yet I am confident that my friend received rich and lasting advantages from the course which he adopted at Yale — advantages possibly richer and more lasting than he could have received by working eight hours a day in some colleges. But I use the incident to illustrate the remark that in the small college the conception of student-life is more studious, and the organization of student-life more simple than in the large.

The considerations which favor the large college are somewhat more easily stated than those which favor the small. One can state them in so simple and logical a form that the discussion of them seems superfluous.

The large college has usually a better equipment. Its "plant" is superior. Its laboratories are more adequate. Its library is of far greater worth. Adequate laboratories and, above all, a worthy library are advantages most precious. The library is the laboratory of laboratories: it is the workshop, providing tools; it is the heart, giving inspiring force; it is the brain, offering thought and the materials of scholarship. "Why do you go to that college?" a student was asked. "Because it has the best library," was the prompt and worthy answer.

The large college has also, usually, teachers who are more expert in their subjects. The power of the great college to attract expert scholars is practically absolute. The condition is almost, though not quite, as compelling in Germany as in America. Seymour and Perrin are called from Western Reserve to Yale, and they go. Wheeler is called from Vermont to Columbia, and he goes. Sterrett is called from Amherst to Cornell, and he goes. And these are examples taken from a single department of scholarship and of teaching.

It is also to be said that the larger number of teachers in the large college *may* constitute a distinct advantage. The teacher is always to *find* the student. Most teachers, it must be confessed, do not find their students. Not one teacher in five has an influence over the student which the student can distinctly and permanently appreciate. If the single teacher in a department of a college fails to adjust himself to the student, or the student to him, the student receives little or no advantage. The risk of this failure of adjustment is, of course, great. But in a large college the large number of teachers in all departments and the several teachers in a single department distinctly lessen the peril. If the student fails to receive what he desires from one teacher, he can turn from him to any one of his associates. His elective preference of teachers, as well as of subjects, has a wider field of exercise.

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It is further evident that the relationships of the students in the large college are more numerous. The students come from a wider territory; are of an origin more diverse; and are following purposes of a greater variety, even if not of higher significance. California and Maine, Texas and Minnesota, are brought together. But the constituency of the small college is local. Most Bowdoin boys come from Maine, most Hobart boys from New York, most Wabash boys from Indiana. Relationships of diversity and breadth are of great value. They enlarge the character; they promote *savoir faire;* they help to constitute the student a citizen of the world; they develop a sense of universal friendliness and friendship.

In the same matter-of-fact method it may be added that the large college has greater prestige. The greater prestige is of small concern to the undergraduate, but it may be of great concern to the graduate. This advantage may often save the graduate's feelings; and it also does frequently put money into his purse. "Why did you come to Harvard College?" asked a distinguished professor, who is no longer a member of the Harvard faculty, of different students. No satisfactory answer was given until a man was reached who replied: "Harvard graduates get better salaries in my city than the graduates of any other college." "Most clear and solid reason," said the professor. The training given in a small and unknown college may be superior to that given in a great and conspicuous college: it not infrequently is superior; but such training is obliged to prove its superiority. It lacks the mint-mark, which is necessary for securing universal appreciation and acceptance.

Between the advantages offered by the large and by the small college no balance should or can be struck. The presence of numbers or the lack of numbers is only one of many characteristic elements of colleges. The college which is large, or the college which is urban, may be the better or the best college for one student; and the college which is small, as the college which is suburban, may be the better or the best for another student. To ask which is superior is like asking whether one prefers purple or golden sunsets. The answer arises from the personal equation.

But the fact of the personal equation does permit the expression of certain more definite judgments. To the student of ordinary ability the small college offers a heartier sense of sympathy, of fellowship, and of expectation of usefulness; to the student of extraordinary ability the large college offers far richer advantages for higher development and greater increase of his greater power. To the student who is working

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his way the small college is less expensive, but furnishes fewer opportunities for earning; the large college demands more money, but is able to make large grants from its loan and other funds, and to furnish better facilities for self-support. To the city-bred man the small college in the country opens a new life, and to the country-bred man the large college in or near the metropolis opens also a new life. To the first the temptation of self-conceit or arrogance is presented; and to the second the temptation of intellectual and moral dissipation. The student of weak will — who, however, should never go to college — finds more adequate support in the personal ministries of the small college; the student of strong will finds his individuality strengthened, even if made less unique, by the individualities by which he is surrounded.

I should hesitate to make an affirmation on the subject but I do not hesitate to ask, whether the small college is not better fitted to make thinkers, and the large to make scholars; the small better fitted to teach men, and the large better fitted to teach subjects; the small better fitted to train the individual, and the large better fitted to discipline the democracy; and the small better fitted to improve and enrich personal character, and the large to disseminate truth.

With respect to the large college, it is to be said that its organization should indeed be simple, and should not be difficult to make. But the organization of the large college is far less simple than that of the small. The cost of administration is greater. A large force is required to accomplish the desired results. Far greater attention is necessarily given to the organization itself. Among the most elaborate of the organizations of all colleges is that obtaining in the University of Chicago. One peril in such elaborate systems is that the president is obliged, or honestly believes he is obliged, to segregate himself from most relations with the students. This is, or should be, a distinct loss to the student and a loss and sore trial to the president himself.

The primary question whether the large college or the small makes the greater contribution to the betterment of the nation and of humanity, is as easy as it is pleasant to answer. Both types are necessary, and both types are rendering very high service. The presence of a few large colleges — and large colleges mean few colleges — as one for each State or group of small States, would result in the manifestation of scholastic forms more impressive, in buildings more magnificent, and in conditions material and intellectual appealing with greater fascination to the heart and mind. This would be a result akin to that which Oxford represents, making an appeal to the sense of the æsthetic and to historical associa-

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tions. It would be a result, too, akin to that of the University of Vienna, making its appeal to the sense of scholastic investigation and efficiency through the concentration and consolidation of large interests. This is well. The presence of many small colleges — and many colleges mean small colleges — allows the coming to these colleges of many youths who would not be able, or who think they would not be able, to go long distances from home in quest of a college training. In fact, many of these boys and girls would no more think of going to a distant college than they would think of going to the North Pole, so remote are their relations from collegiate walls. Therefore, if the entrance into American life of college-bred men and women in large numbers be of value, the small college has still a work to do of the sort which it has done, in the training of boys and girls for the highest service to mankind and for the enlargement and enrichment of their own lives. This is also well.

Consequently it is desirable for both the large college and the small to exist. The large college will become larger; its numbers increasing, its equipment growing, its conditions nobly developing. The number of large colleges themselves it is not desirable, in my opinion, to increase. The number, too, of small colleges should certainly not be increased, but rather diminished. But the small college existing should find its equipment made more adequate, its endowment enlarged, its professors better paid, its atmosphere made far finer, and its relations richer in the highest scholastic associations.

As I close I venture to express a suspicion, and it is only a suspicion, that, if any one were to count up the graduates of the small colleges of America who have rendered efficient service to the commonwealth and to humanity, and if one were to count up the graduates of the large colleges who have rendered efficient service to mankind and to the state, and if one were to compare these numbers with the whole number of graduates of the colleges of the two classes, it would be found that great and lasting and noble as are the services given by the sons of the large colleges, the services rendered by the sons of the small colleges would be seen to be even greater and more beneficent. But, as I said, this is a mere impression. An examination of the facts might prove that it has no foundation. But no proper examination is possible. The endeavor to make such an examination would be like trying to treat ethical phenomena with the methods of mathematics.

The large college is a creature of the last quarter of the last century. For the larger part of that century the colleges of the greatest number of students, judged by present standards, would be denominated small col-

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leges. It was seldom that the graduating classes of Harvard or of Yale were of the size of the present graduating classes of certain country colleges of New England. The larger part, therefore, of the great work which American colleges have done for America and the world, the larger number of the noble men whom these colleges have trained for the betterment of the race, are the results of the small college. The small college has now become the large, and the small college also still continues to exist. It remains to be proved whether the large college can do the great work for America and for all men which the small college has certainly done. The proof one awaits with both desire and expectation.

CHARLES F. THWING.

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AGRICULTURE IN CHINA.

In a country like China, from whose broad plains 400,000,000 of our fellow-men obtain their sustenance, no subject is of such interest as agriculture. The vast antiquity of this country, too, and the unbroken continuity of its history lend an interest to the consideration of an art which has been handed down as it exists from the earliest dawn of history. Changes there have been, of course. New grains and new vegetables have been added to the scanty list of the old; but methods have remained the same, and the soil is cultivated to-day as in the days which antedate Confucius.

Let us look first at the area of China. The Empire of China consists of China proper, Manchuria, Mongolia, Thibet, Ili or Eastern Turkestan, and the large island of Hainan. Formosa formerly belonged to China, but is now owned by Japan. The name is derived from the word "Sin," meaning silk. The area of China is about 5,000,000 square miles, which is one-third of Asia, and about one-tenth of the land surface of the globe.

As to population, no regular census has been taken for many years, so that it cannot be accurately given; but it is estimated at about 400,000,000, or one-third of the human race. Vast as this population is, the empire is not over-populated. There are immense tracts of vacant lands in Manchuria and Mongolia, and Ili, Thibet, and the vicinage of the Yellow River are very scantily peopled. The cause, however, is not to be found in inadequate tillage of the soil, but in want of transportation.

According to the Chinese accounts, agriculture was not gradually developed from rude beginnings, but has a certain definiteness of origin which it lacks in Western history or tradition. It was the invention of the Emperor Shin Nung, who, succeeding Fuh-hi, the first Emperor of China, ascended the throne 2,737 years B.C. It was he who "first fashioned timber into ploughs and taught the people the art of husbandry." He also discovered the medicinal virtue of plants, and instituted the custom of holding periodical markets for the barter of commodities.

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Whatever basis of truth this tradition may lack it seems to prove one thing, namely, that the art, in the form in which it is practised to-day, antedates all recorded history. In the West we may point to such and such an implement or method as having originated at such and such a date. In China no such progress is discernible. Agriculture is to-day what it was millenniums ago, and what it may continue to be for a long time to come.

The Chinese from the legendary time mentioned to the present have always been an agricultural people. Their emperors, without regard to race, whether native, Mongol, or Manchu, have encouraged agriculture; doubtless seeing in it the greatest safeguard of the throne. The present dynasty has continued all the ceremonies instituted in ancient times tending to dignify the occupation of the farmer.

Across an avenue from the Temple of Heaven, inside of the Chinese city of Peking, is a great enclosure in which is situated the Sun Nung Tan, an "altar dedicated to Shin Nung"—the supposed inventor of agriculture. This enclosure is two miles in circumference and contains four separate altars. These are erected to the Gods of the Heavens and of the Earth, to the planet Jupiter, and to Shin Nung. At the vernal equinox the Emperor goes with a great retinue consisting of members of the Board of Rites and of various officials, and with his own hands holds the plough, which is drawn by bullocks. He ploughs a part of the park, and no one touches the imperial portion so ploughed. Other parts are ploughed by district magistrates and prefects. Sacrifices are then offered to the divinities, and with the prayers presented are burnt in furnaces. In the Chinese theory of government example is of the greatest importance, and the annual ceremony performed by the Emperor is intended to illustrate to his subjects the honor and importance of agricultural pursuits.

Many books have been published on agricultural subjects. The culture of rice has received special attention. In the year 1600 Sü Kwang-ki prepared an "Encyclopedia of Agriculture." It must be said, however, that the most potent element in agricultural pursuits is the untiring industry of the people, who owe little to science or machinery.

Notwithstanding the great antiquity of agriculture among them, the Chinese have failed to make any great progress in it. Their system of cultivation is very careful and marked by attention to details; but it shows ignorance of the principles of rotation of crops and of adaptation of soils to particular grains, and an extremely primitive knowledge of agricultural implements. Their fields are treated like gardens, being

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subjected to the most constant and watchful care, both at the time of planting and during the growth of the crops. When ripe the crop is gathered by hand, with the utmost completeness; not a straw or leaf, scarcely even a root, being allowed to remain.

In threshing grain the Chinese spread it out on a smooth clay floor in the open air — there is such a threshing floor adjoining every farm-house — and the grain is detached either by threshing with flails or by rolling over it a stone roller drawn by a donkey. The chaff is removed by tossing the grain into the air in a slight breeze; the kernels of grain falling straight to the ground and the chaff and the dust being blown aside.

The two most characteristic features of Chinese agriculture are the use of manure and the system of irrigation. Manure is gathered from all conceivable sources. In the cities the night-soil deposited on the sides of streets and alleys is gathered by men and boys. It is mixed with clay, dried in the sun, and sold to farmers. On country roads boys, and often women and girls, are seen at places where large numbers of pack-horses, camels, and mules pass, gathering the material, which is afterward, with beneficial effects, spread on the fields. Earth from canals, rivers, and streets is carted away for the same purpose. "Other substances are diligently collected," says Williams, "as hair from barber shops, exploded fire-crackers, sweepings from the streets, lime and plaster from kitchens and old buildings, soot, bones, and fish and animal remains." The quantity of these fertilizers used and the importance the Chinese attach to them are proved by the number of people whose livelihood is gained by their collection.

In irrigating his land the farmer uses many devices. Where running water is at hand he turns it to advantage by directing it over his fields in large channels. These are banked in with clay, and subdivided into smaller and smaller streamlets, until every part of the ground has been reached. If no running water is found wells are dug, and the water is drawn up by hand, and poured into the main ditches, which are subdivided into numerous smaller ones. Holes are dug in which rain-water accumulates, which is baled out when needed. The raising of this water in most cases, especially in the vicinity of Peking, is done very laboriously by hand.

Chinese agricultural implements are of the rudest character. They are chiefly the hoe, the harrow, the rake, the plough, and the stone roller. The plough is simply a broad blade fastened to a rough handle, guided by a man, and drawn by teams of the most miscellaneous description. It

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cuts a furrow never more than six inches deep, and frequently only two or three. The teams are made up of horses, donkeys, mules, bullocks, and men, it being not unusual to see a man or boy and any one or more of the animals above-named drawing the same plough. Chinese farmers measure the depth of the furrows by the fingers, and frequently speak of ploughing only two or three fingers deep. The reason of this seems to be the difficulty of making a deeper furrow with their ploughs. The hoe is a much more effective tool, and it is with it that they work between the furrows of grain after it has sprouted.

Foreign agricultural implements, especially ploughs, might be introduced with great effect among the Chinese, but the price will always operate against such introduction. A Chinese plough can be bought for the equivalent of two or three Mexican dollars, and smaller tools in proportion. There are no great stores devoted to the sale of agricultural implements, they being made by hand either by a neighboring blacksmith or by the farmer himself, as occasion demands.

The principal crops in North China, besides the fruits and vegetables, of which there are almost all that are found in Western countries, are wheat, barley, buckwheat, numerous varieties of millet, beans, Indian corn, sesamum, hemp, rice, cotton, kowleon, and some tobacco.

Wheat in North China is planted in two crops, known as autumn and spring wheat, of which the former excels in both quantity and quality. This is planted about the autumnal equinox, or at the latest not after the semi-monthly period known in the Chinese calendar as the "cold dew" (about October 8). It is harvested at about the summer solstice. The yield per Chinese mou — 6.61 mou make an English acre — is estimated in a good year at one tan, that is, about 240 pounds, or nearly 1,700 pounds per English acre. Wheat is not sown broadcast. It is carefully sown in furrows about eighteen inches apart, leaving room between the furrows for hoeing. In this space when the wheat is partly grown some vegetable crop is planted. The seed required to sow a mou of land is about seventeen to twenty pounds, or nearly 120 pounds to the English acre. The seed, say the Chinese, should be sown in damp ground. The price of wheat in Peking varies every day, just as in other centres, according to supply and demand. It is fixed at the markets by brokers, who are under official supervision, and who arrange sales and measure out the grain, receiving a small commission.

Spring wheat is sown only when by reason of excessive rains or other unfavorable causes the ground is not ready for the autumn crop. It is then sown about the spring equinox, April 5. It ripens at the

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same time as autumn wheat, but produces some twenty to forty pounds of grain less per mou, and is of inferior quality. Both spring and autumn wheat are used exclusively for the manufacture of flour; being ground by mills worked by hand, horse, or donkey power, or rarely by water power.

Barley is planted at about the spring equinox and harvested at the summer solstice. It is planted in the same manner as wheat, producing a few more pounds per mou, and requiring about half as much seed. This grain, when husked, is used as a substitute for rice. When mixed with a kind of pea grown in North China — the wentou, resembling the marrowfat pea — it makes a ferment for wine. Barley is worth about 2.7 taels per tan when husked. The tael is ordinarily equal to $1.40 Mexican, or 77 cents of our money.

Buckwheat, called by the Chinese "triangular rice," is sown during the thirty days following the summer solstice, and harvested early in October. It produces about one and one-half tan per mou, and is usually worth 1.5 taels per tan.

There are several varieties of millet in North China. They are all planted early in April, and gathered early in September. Among them is the tall millet, of which one species produces a red grain, and another a white. The red is used as food for horses, and to manufacture wine; the white, which is of superior quality, is made into flour for human consumption, and costs slightly more. The tall, slender stalks of this grain are used in making thatched roofs, and for a number of other purposes. The grain is worth from 1.6 to 2 taels per tan. It enters very largely into consumption as food, much more than rice does, among the poorer classes. The variety of millet known as "Italian millet" is grown in immense quantities in many parts of China. It is eaten boiled when unground, and it is also ground into a fine yellow flour.

Indian corn is planted in early April, or never later than the last of May. The grain is ready for harvest by the middle of September. A mou of land takes about twelve pounds of seed, and produces about one tan (six or seven tou) of grain. Corn is sown by the Chinese in furrows about as in America. The grain is made into meal for human consumption. It costs shelled 1.6 taels per tan.

Yellow, white, green, and black beans are grown. They are used for a variety of purposes, such as the production of oil, the manufacture of vermicelli, the manufacture of soy (a kind of pickle), for stuffing for cakes, as a ferment for wine, and as food — chiefly the black beans for horses and camels. The price of a tan varies from 2.1 to 2.8 taels, ac-

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cording to the use to which the beans are put, the costliest being the variety used in the manufacture of vermicelli.

Sesamum is raised solely for the oil extracted from it. This oil, called "fragrant oil," is used extensively in cooking, and sometimes for illuminating purposes.

Rice is raised nearly all over China proper. There are immense fields near Peking. The grain is first soaked, and when it begins to swell is sown very thickly in a small plat containing liquid manure. The shoots when they are about six inches high are planted in the rice paddies. Six men can transplant two acres a day. About 330 pounds of grain are required to sow a Chinese mou, about one-seventh of an English acre. A ten-fold crop is produced.

Kowleon is largely planted in North China. It resembles sorghum. It has no ear, but has a bunch of seed at the top which is mixed with straw for the food of animals. The stalks, which are twenty feet high, are used for roofing houses, and for fuel.

Cotton is one of the great staples of China. It is grown chiefly in middle and southern China, but I have seen fields of it near Peking. If cotton mills and their products are not taxed too high, China will become a great manufacturing country. She has cheap money, cheap labor, and the raw material.

Tobacco was introduced into China from Luzon about A.D. 1550. It was denounced then by Imperial decree as it was in England, but prohibition of its use was ineffectual. All classes and both sexes smoke. The common people generally use a small, dry pipe, the gentry a water pipe. Cigars are not made. Cigarettes are now much used. The pipes hold very little tobacco. Behind a mandarin at dinner stands a man who empties and replenishes his pipe. The ashes are emptied on the floor, and it is a dirty process. Tobacco is a considerable article of export. Manila cigars are now being largely smoked. There is no duty, and the price varies from $2 per hundred, silver money, to $10. Chinese tobacco is much milder than American or Cuban tobacco.

Tea is raised between the twenty-third and thirty-fifth parallels of latitude. It is said that the best soil for it is a friable, light-colored, porous one, with a fair proportion of sand, and a superabundance of decaying vegetable matter on the surface. A hot and moist climate suits it. The earliest accounts of the cultivation of tea date back to A.D. 350.

The plant seldom exceeds three feet in height. Plantations are usually found on slopes or at the foot of hills where drainage and moist-

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ure are easily produced. The tea flower is small, single, and white. The seeds are three small nuts with valves between them, and are enclosed in a triangular shell which splits open when ripe. In October the nuts are put in a mixture of damp sand and earth. In March they are sown in a nursery. A year after the shoots are transplanted, being put in rows about four feet apart. When the shrub is three years old the leaf is plucked, and the picking continues until the eighth year. The first picking consists of the young leaves. It is named "pecoe," or white down. The derivations of some other names are the following: Hyson comes from yu-tsin, "before the rain"; another romantic derivation is that it comes from the name of a young maiden who introduced some improvements in curing tea. Sou-chong means small or rare variety. Congou means work or worked, from being well worked. Bohea is the name of hills in Fuh-kien. Oo-long is the black dragon.

The second plucking takes place from May 15 to June. The plant is then in full leaf. A tea-tree will yield from sixteen to twenty-two ounces of leaf. The women and children do the picking and receive six or eight cents silver per day. The leaves are cured by various processes of drying, and roasting over a fire. Green tea and black tea are made from the same leaf, the difference being in the fact that the black tea is subjected to a process of fermentation while the green tea is not. There are machines for curing tea in Formosa and at Hankow, and, perhaps, at other places.

The Russians transport immense quantities of tea overland on camel-back from Tungchow. As sea air injures the quality of tea, this mode of carriage is most beneficial to it. The Chinese use large cups for making tea. In these sufficient leaves are thrown to make one cup. A saucer covers the cup. Tea is scented by throwing over the leaves, as they roast, roses, tuberoses, orange-flowers, jasmines, and other varieties. I was once presented with some tea which was valued at $40 Mexican per pound.

A great deal of tea is raised in Formosa, and nearly all of it comes to the United States; the exportations to the United States amounting to 17,000,000 pounds annually. China teas meet with much competition from Indian and Ceylon teas. Some efforts have been made in China to improve the culture and curing of tea, but they have had small results. The Government has been often petitioned to take off the export tax which burdens tea, but it has not consented to do so. Unless China takes some measures to improve her teas and to reduce taxation she will eventually lose this great trade.

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In Mongolia, tea in the shape of bricks, called "brick tea," is largely used, and passes current as money. All the refuse of tea is pressed into cakes having the appearance of cakes of chocolate. These cakes are conveniently portable, and readily broken up so as to be used or passed from hand to hand.

I have not space to go at length into the description of silk culture. Descriptions of it are found in the books as far back as 2600 B.C. Its inventor, a woman named Yuenfi, is still worshipped in a temple at Peking. As the Emperor patronizes agriculture, so the Empress annually sacrifices to Yuenfi. The Government has always fostered this industry, and it is pursued in every province in China. The greatest care is taken to raise and protect the worms. The mode of raising them and the use of the cocoons require a special study.

The unit of land measurement in China is the mou, of which 6.61 constitute an English acre. This unit, however, is variable, being larger in some provinces than in others. In the mountainous parts of North China a curious system prevails of measuring land by the number of days it requires to plough it with one bullock. One day's land is approximately two-thirds of an acre, English measure. Three days' lands make a small holding, while some mountain farmers own seventy or eighty. This system of measurement arises from the fact that the land in the mountains is cultivated along the mountain-sides in narrow terraces, many of which are required to make up an acre, and whose area is difficult of estimation. In measuring grain the tables are somewhat similar to our own, the unit being the sheng, which contains nearly an English quart.

A comparison of the yield of the fields of China with that of American farms would be interesting if it could be accurately made. The difference between the styles of planting makes it difficult to do so, as the grain in America is sown broadcast or drilled, while in China all cereals are carefully planted in furrows, wide distances apart. The absence of any statistics as to the average product per acre such as are published in the United States increases the difficulty of comparison. It is probable, however, that in proportion to the quantity of seed sown, the return in North China is larger than the average return in America. This would be the natural result of the careful system of planting, harvesting, and threshing, involving no waste whatever.

The condition of the agricultural classes in comparison with the other classes is one of reasonable comfort. Their condition, however, is not the same all over China, the tendency seeming to be toward greater

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prosperity and larger holdings in the north, and greater poverty and smaller holdings in the south. It is estimated that in Manchuria, for example, three English acres are the smallest quantity of land on which a family of six or seven people can live. Five acres mean comfort, while from ten to thirty acres are common holdings. It is remarkable that in the southern provinces, where the soil is much more productive, holdings are smaller and the average of comfort is lower. In the province of Kwangtung less than one-sixth of an acre will support one mouth, as the expressive Chinese phraseology is, while the proprietor of two acres of good land, having a family of five persons, may live without work from the product of the land. In the south seven acres would constitute wealth, and very few landowners have as many as one hundred. One strong man in Kwangtung can cultivate one acre, or three men five acres, when the land is favorably located.

In great contrast with this are the 500-acre farms which are not uncommon in Manchuria. In other provinces the holdings vary between these two extremes. In Shantung, for example, less than two acres is the average holding, while one hundred is very exceptional. In Shansi three or four acres is an average, and fifteen or twenty a large, holding. In Kansuh, which is in the extreme northwest of China, the average holding is from fifty to sixty acres. In Chihli, in which Peking is situated, there is a high standard of comfort. The soil is productive, and the crops are numerous and varied. The large holdings and the comparative sparseness of the population present a great contrast to the southern provinces, where many thousands are gathered together on their ancestral acres.

The profits of farming in China are not under any circumstances great. The large holdings are usually in the possession of ancient families. They have been handed down for many generations intact, and are held in common. It is not unusual for several hundred people, all of the same family, to hold a large tract of land in common. The Chinese share the aversion of Oriental peoples to part with the land of their fathers; and their religious customs, which require the performance of certain sacrifices to ancestors by the eldest son on behalf of the whole family, encourage this tenancy in common.

The law of China on inheritance is that all sons shall inherit an equal proportion. The land may be divided between them by common consent, in which case the eldest son has a double share to enable him to defray the expenses of family sacrifices, and to take care of the family burial-ground. Younger sons cannot insist on a division against the

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will of elder sons. That statute, coupled with the clannish sentiment of the Chinese race and the greater ease of tilling a large tract than of tilling small pieces separately, has tended to prevent subdivision of large estates. This feature of landholdings makes the above figures as to large holdings somewhat deceptive. For instance, a report from Manchuria, published in the Journal of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, mentions several families holding some hundreds of acres each; but some of these families number over 200 members living in large blocks of houses with a single gate and a single kitchen. The aggregate wealth of such a family is great, but the individual share of each member is not enough to constitute affluence. A family by the name of Chen, in the province of Kiangsu, is said to cultivate 66,000 acres; but it is not reported how many bearers of this surname are part owners of this splendid estate.

On the whole, it is probable that the incomes of landowners in the vast majority of cases cover only their expenses — enabling them to live in a greater or less degree of comfort — and the cost of keeping up their farms. In fact, the opportunities for investing money in China are not as plentiful as in the United States. Corporations do not exist in great numbers, and stocks and bonds do not form a portion of the daily dealings as in the West.

Wages vary greatly in different localities. In Manchuria, $15 to $20 Mexican per annum, and food and lodging, is the rule; in Chihli and Shantung $10 to $20; in Kansuh $19 to $25; in Chekiang $40. Small as these wages seem to be, it must be remembered that the Chinaman's wants are few. His garments — shoes and hat included, when he has any — are all made from homespun cotton, or woven of straw by the women of his family. In summer the usual costume of an agricultural laborer is only a pair of cotton trousers. Children for several months in the year go entirely naked. In winter the poorer classes in the north wear wadded cotton clothes and sheepskin coats with the wool inside. In the south heavy garments are unnecessary. Very small wages, therefore, suffice to sustain life, and even these are beyond the reach of all. Many people die every year from starvation.

The prosperity of a country has often been supposed to rest on the facility with which a man might attain independence. Of course, what would constitute independence in China might be abject poverty in other lands. The purchasing power of the money in circulation, the prices of the necessaries of life, and the ordinary mode of living must be considered in any comparison that may be made. I think that China's

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place in such a comparison with other countries would not be unfavorable.

Dr. Macgowan furnishes some statistics which are applicable to this discussion.[1] He states that in the vicinity of Wenchow and Chekiang sixty per cent of the rice land is cultivated by non-owners. These tenant farmers pay the landowners one-half of the rice crop. One acre yields nineteen piculs (a picul being 133⅓ pounds), giving to the landlord and tenant each about $21 Mexican. The owner pays the land tax of $1.80 per acre, and the tenant is at liberty to raise on the land any intervening crops he pleases, which all belong to him, and which are estimated at $15 per acre. This brings a tenant's share up to $36 per acre, while the landlord's share is about five per cent.

The average wage of an able-bodied young man is $12 per annum, with food and lodging, straw shoes, and free shaving — an important item in a country where heads must be shaved three or four times a month. His clothing costs about $4 per annum. In ten years he may buy one-third of an acre of land ($150 per acre), and necessary implements. In ten years more he may double his holdings and become part owner in a water buffalo. In six more he may procure a wife and live comfortably on his estate. Thus in twenty-six years he has gained a competence.

The theory of China with reference to the ownership of land has always been that it is the property of the state, and that it is held by private owners from the Government on condition of the payment of taxes. This theory is expressed in two lines of the ancient classics: "All the land in the world is the property of the Sovereign;" and "All the dwellers in the land are the Sovereign's servants." This fiction aside, however, land is held in China on the same terms as other property. In deeds for its conveyance the language used is the same as for the sale of any other property. It is held by the owner subject to the payment of a land tax. This tax is fixed in China at so much for each district, and is demanded of the district magistrate by the Government; and the magistrate levies it on the landowners under his jurisdiction. It varies according to the character of the soil and the value of the crops. For this purpose land is described as upper, middle, and lower.

In Manchuria, for example, the upper grade pays thirty cents Mexican per acre per annum. The middle and lower grades pay the same, only by a legal fiction two acres of middle and three of lower are called

[1] In the Journal of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Shanghai, for March, 1889.

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an acre. In Shantung and Chihli the tax varies from ten to forty cents per acre. In Shansi it reaches $1.80. In some provinces the land tax is paid in grain as well as money, and in some districts this tax amounts to one-seventh of the total crop. The amount of tax which is fixed by the Board of Revenue to be paid by any district is always, it is believed, increased by the magistrate, who appropriates the surplus to his own use. In case of flood or drought the tax is remitted. The total land tax of China has been estimated at from thirty to thirty-five millions of taels.

Agrarian questions have arisen in China as in other parts of the world. In Chinese history we can find that many of the social troubles which seem so new when they come upon us in the West have been experimented on here centuries ago, and that most of the proposed legal remedies have been tried, and have failed. For instance, how to prevent the accumulation of land by capitalists to the injury of the poorer people is a question that was considered by the Chinese more than two thousand years ago.[1] In the year B.C. 6, the Emperor Ai Ti, by the advice of his ministers, issued an edict limiting the quantity of land to be held by any one person to fifty acres; and three years were allowed to large owners to dispossess themselves of the excess, after which period all land over that quantity belonging to any one individual escheated to the state. Land thereupon became cheap; but subsequent ministers for their own advantage set aside the decree, and the endeavor to prevent monopoly was frustrated.

A subsequent attempt, which was made under the Emperor Wang Wang, failed from other causes. He decreed that seventeen acres should be the limit of any person's holding; that the surplus be divided among the owner's clansmen and relations without compensation; and that death be the penalty of a failure to comply after three years. So numerous were the offenders, however, that the law could not be enforced, and it had to be abandoned. In the fifth century another dispossession of wealthy men was decreed, and seven acres were given to every man and woman to become their absolute property at the end of three years, on condition of their having planted a certain number of trees. This statute lapsed after a short time.

A most remarkable episode was an attempt in the eleventh century to benefit the farmers, and improve agriculture generally, by loaning to the farmers the money of the state at two per cent interest. The results

[1] See the Journal of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, for March, 1887.

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were most disastrous. The public treasury was emptied, and most of the funds were stolen before reaching the farmer for whom they were intended. Many abuses sprang up, and distress was universal.

During the reign of Chien Lung (1736–1796), who has been called the Justinian of China, a memorial was presented to the Emperor urging that individual ownership of land be limited to 150 acres. Chien Lung refused his assent to the proposition; pointing out that such laws were easy of evasion, pernicious in their application, and of benefit to no one.

China is essentially a treeless country. Importations of wood come from the United States, the Philippine Islands, Hainan, Formosa, and Corea. Were it not for the countless cemeteries trees would be rarely seen. Arboriculture, however, has lately been taken up with considerable vigor, and along the water-courses there are many groves. The Viceroy Li Hung Chang has given this subject great attention, and has disseminated among the people rules for growing trees.

In conclusion it may be said that the agricultural classes lead a life of poverty and toil. They are deprived of all the luxuries of life, and have only the bare necessities; yet they dwell in peace and contentment, forming the very foundation of the empire. This contentment has made the governing of the empire possible without the use of great standing armies.

CHARLES DENBY.

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THE POLITICAL AND COMMERCIAL FUTURE OF ASIA.

DURING the last quarter of a century the civilized world has been watching with eager intensity the course of political events in Asia, which have been speeding along with such rapidity that it has been almost impossible to draw any accurate deductions from them. No problem offers such deterring obstacles or presents such elusive features to the student of world politics as that of prying beneath the surface of diplomatic vagueness, treachery, and deceit, in an effort to forecast the possible trend and general effect of future political conditions. It is quite as impossible to predict with certainty the results of diplomatic action as it is of diplomatic inaction. Sometimes, however, the curtain is drawn aside, enabling fleeting glimpses of the master hands behind the scenes. Of late, diplomacy, under the stress of urgency and unforeseen conditions, has so far unmasked itself as to give some indication of how the wind blows.

The present Chinese imbroglio has tended to reveal to us the hidden political unrest in Asia which has caused the failure of diplomacy and provoked much anxiety in more than one Foreign Office. But this meagre concession to the layman, of a vague and transitory glimpse behind the scenes, in no wise leads to a better understanding of the subtler and more momentous issues at stake. The problem of the future of China considered by itself, potent as must be its bearing on the future of Asiatic politics, is but a chapter of progression in an undetermined serial, wherein the future of this continent must be considered, not piecemeal, but as a commercial and geographical whole.

To be sure, while for Asia we cannot read China, yet the task of prediction is rendered easier by applying to the continent in general the same conditions as have materialized in China. To a certain extent it may be assumed, in the position she has taken in regard to China, that Russia has thought the moment propitious for unmasking her schemes for Slavonic aggression and dominance in Asia, not in the expectation that the immediate results will materialize into all that she fondly hopes, but that by their daring aggressiveness they will throw dust into the

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eyes of her rivals, distract suspicion from other quarters, and allow her a free hand to bring to maturity her expansive ambitions at other and equally vital points.

The history of Central Asia for the last century has been nothing more than a record of Russian advance toward the Indian frontier. For the initial effort of Russia's expansion we must go back even farther. It is four hundred years since the first step was taken across the Ural mountains, marking her primary advance into Asia. Ivan III had succeeded in laying the foundations not only of the Russian empire, but of its extension. His grandson, Ivan the Terrible, first to assume the title of Czar, made many an alliance with Eastern governments; and in his time the first expedition of Russia into Central Asia was undertaken by the Cossack tribes under their famous chief Jemak. This was really the beginning of Siberia as a Russian possession. It likewise marked the first important step in Russia's policy of expansion; the latest exemplification of this inordinate passion of territorial lust being manifested in her thinly veiled attempt to embrace the Manchurian provinces of China in her insatiate drag-net.

However, this bolder move on the Asiatic checker-board, foreign as is its nature to the usual method of Russia's diplomatic procedure, is significant, even if at present it proves futile, as showing her full belief that she holds firmly in her grasp the strings of the marionettes whom she may make dance at will, and as denoting the near approach of the moment when she may lay aside the practice of diplomatic deceit and gauge the issue by the sword. It is idle to place any degree of confidence in public asseverations emanating from Russian official sources. In the present Chinese crisis, when it became necessary for the civilized powers to formulate a policy for the punishment of China, and the re-establishment of public order in that empire, Russia took it upon herself to counsel moderation. In fact, during all the subsequent negotiations she posed as the open champion and protector of China. Her troops were the first ordered to leave Pekin, but even at the risk of causing a rupture with the allied powers she advocated methods characterized by an altruistic disinterestedness which placed her in a conspicuously advantageous position. This was official Russia. Her diplomatists and ministers not only formulated, but had no scruples in countenancing, a persistent scheming for fooling the world at large.

If this openly assumed attitude of forbearance had been followed out in an entirely unselfish manner, there would have been in the course pursued not a little to commend. But the double-dealing and insin-

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cerity of Russia's motives are shown in the recent warning of M. de Giers, the Russian minister to China, to Li Hung Chang — after her temporary set-back in Manchuria — that in the future, instead of advocating the Chinese cause in the conference of the powers, he will support a policy of the utmost severity. The inwardness of this sudden "about face" is not difficult to fathom. In fact, every point of evidence, both circumstantial and concrete, shows plainly that Russian solicitude for Chinese interest was only fathered by the belief that in playing fast and loose with the allied powers Russia, by secret negotiation, might not only satisfy her claims for indemnity, but might exact from China further payment in adopting the rôle of a quasi-intermediator. But, once this scheme has been exposed and defeated, the selfishness of the motives prompting it becomes patent. Realizing that she can hope for nothing more than can be wrung from China by the unanimous action of the associated powers, and that her share in the spoils will only be in proportion to the increase of the general demand, it is not surprising to find that Russia is now the foremost in saddling upon the International Convention the doctrine of most aggressive and exacting demands.

I have discussed at this length the attitude of Russia in connection with the so-called Manchurian crisis for no other reason than to give an idea of the insincerity of purpose characterizing her political jugglings, an insincerity which has been an inevitable concomitant of her entire Asiatic policy of expansion. Properly realized, this will lead to a better understanding of what follows, since in such a discreditable game as this no better evidence can be found of the untrustworthiness of Russian diplomacy. On the other hand, the fact that similar methods of diplomatic procedure and official necromancy have been fruitful in increasing the foothold of Slavonic aggression in Asia may afford pleasing mental pabulum to those apologists for Russia who gauge issues merely by concrete results, however repugnant the methods pursued may seem when judged by arbitrary standards of equity and uprightness. And if this palliative method of reasoning is pursued, merely taking into account resultant gain, then Russia indeed needs no apologist; the success that has attended her Asiatic expansion policy being the best proof of the potency of the lines which she has followed.

It is difficult to forecast at the present writing what effect the apparent upset of present Russian plans as applied to Manchuria will have on the future of Russia's policy in Asia. It is of deep significance from the fact that it is the first real obstruction of a serious nature which she

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has yet encountered in all her four centuries of territorial aggression. How far-reaching will be its influence it is now impossible to decide; yet it brings us to the question as to whether the stupendous dream of Slavonic dominance is to be realized in actuality, or whether this influence has now reached its extremest limits. It may be that in the future the political significance of this present set-back in Manchuria will be lessened — that the set-back will be merely a temporary delay in the general expansive campaign of aggression. Should, however, the apparent disposition of the allied powers to insure the geographical and political integrity of China be sturdily maintained in the future, it is doubtful if Russian influence would exercise a more preponderating part in Asiatic affairs than at present.

But here the question arises as to how long, and to what extent, the various civilized powers will feel warranted in performing the practically gratuitous task of withstanding the brunt of successive Russian onslaughts on the integrity of China. Russia can well afford to play a waiting game, hoping, and naturally expecting, that there will come after the parlous times of the present an era of reactionary quietude which will best subserve her interests. Nor is her attitude a mistaken one. She is fortunate enough to have but one iron in the fire. She is not enmeshed and embroiled in various parts of the world distant from the theatre of action. Her foreign policy, instead of being diversified, is centralized in one scheme: the eventuating of Russian dominance throughout Asia.

This represents in a nutshell the scope of Russia's foreign policy. China, although at present the point of white-heat interest, must be by no means considered the limitation of her design for Asiatic dominance. It is true, as has been said, that a permanent and concerted barrier upraised against her by the allied powers in China would seriously hamper, if not wholly crush, her future plans; but there is little reason to believe that such a definite and far-reaching result will be obtained. France at the present time is more or less actively under Russian influence, and doubtless, with her Anglophobist tendencies, would remain passive and quiescent as to any Russian plans which did not directly threaten French interests in Asia, which, probably, will never be more important than as they now exist. Germany, too, has shown a disposition to withdraw as gracefully as possible, evidently being unwilling to risk the candle in a game which can in no wise bring her a return adequate to the outlay involved. The interest of Italy, Austria, and other smaller European powers is, and will continue to be, *nil*. In so far as the future of Asia

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is concerned these countries need not be considered even in the light of unimportant factors.

Nor is it warranted to premise that the interests of the United States will be other than passively commercial ones. In our dealing with the Chinese crisis we have never shown a disposition toward territorial lust; and it is improbable that any sequence of future events, even if inimical to our commercial interests, will change this policy. Naturally we shall seek to enjoy our due share of Asiatic trade, with which untoward political upheavals will not greatly interfere; but as to taking a hand in the Asiatic muddle for purely political reasons, this contingency may well be placed outside the pale of probabilities. Taking a more or less active interest in Chinese affairs, as we do at present, this may not seem apparent; but once the seething political pot has been allowed to simmer down, the disposition to look at far-distant political embroilments with whimsical disinterestedness will doubtless eliminate the United States as an obstructionist to Russian Asiatic policy. On the other hand, should our interest still continue to be an active one, it could only be active in so far as China is concerned, and, as I have said before, merely to safeguard commercial interests.

In considering the question of these commercial interests we must remember that diplomacy will scarcely suffice to settle the future of Asia. Unfortunately, to anyone conversant with past and current political conditions in Asia, the fact is paramount that already diplomacy has been stretched almost to the breaking-point. Unconsoling as the thought must be to the optimist, it appears that territorial and commercial supremacy in Asia can have but one definite and satisfactory settlement — arbitrament by the sword. That this can be the only enduring solution is a fact upon which students of Asiatic politics agree.

Taking this militant view of the situation, as the facts warrant, the political future of Asia may be said to be of vital concern to three nations only — Russia, England, and Japan. It has always been a mooted question — and doubtless will continue to be until definitely settled by the test provided by opportunity — how far Japan may be taken as a potent factor in the future in the arena to test dominancy in Asia. I not only speak my own views, but likewise express the opinion of many prominent military experts, when I say that all along there has been a regrettable tendency to exaggerate largely the capabilities of Japan as a world power of the first rank. Her champions, in their ardent zeal, have been ever too prone to overlook the difference between Eastern and Western standards. True it is that her soldiery in the Chino-Japanese

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war, and in the late troubles in China, displayed a courage and discipline alike remarkable. Nevertheless it is not possible to use this as a means of comparison. Personal valor is an attribute in which no one nation can claim sole distinction, and it is fallacious to suppose — nor is there any evidence to warrant the supposition — that the average valor of Japan is higher than that of Western nations.

Therefore, I cannot see how, unassisted, and acting merely on her own initiative, Japan can ever take a more active interest in affairs on the Asiatic continent than she does at present. Well disciplined and valorous as is her army, a certain part must be left to guarantee the integrity of her own soil; and even by the most indomitable efforts she could by no means amass a campaigning force equal numerically to that which Russia could easily unleash from her Siberian provinces. It is certainly no secret among diplomatists that Japan has coveted a foothold on the mainland of China ever since Formosa became Japanese property. But strong as is Japan's desire to expand, the inference may be permitted that Russian "bluff" has proved too much for the Japanese. They could hardly escape yielding to the superior numbers and influence against them; and in spite of Japan's openly assumed air of belligerency, no persons recognize more fully than her astute statesmen the absolute futility of a joust with Russia.

The case of the abandonment of Korea at the conclusion of the Chino-Japanese war will best serve to illustrate the point. Various statements and claims may be heard as to the damper placed on Japanese ambition at that time, an ambition to which she was fully entitled by every canon of equity and justice. It probably will not be disputed that it was Russia's absolute protest that deterred Japan from persisting in occupation, a protest which one may be sure Japan would have ignored had she felt capable of defending her claim. Japan naturally assumes that she is entitled to as full rights in China as is Russia, and it may be as naturally assumed that such a notion will not be easily dislodged. The Japanese regard themselves as equally entitled with the Russians to be the protectors, or spoliators, as the case may be, of China.

While this sentiment lasts, Japan, while not to be considered individually as a paramount factor, will always bear watching. Her ambition to be classed among the advanced powers may doubtless be relied on to stimulate her energies; and should the international sentiment become so poised at some future date as to leave it to Japan to tip the balance, her power as an active factor would be greatly in excess of her relative political and geographical importance. But it is only as the

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ally of a world power of the first rank that she can be considered. That alone and unaided she would place herself in the pathway of Russian aggression seems not only improbable, but impossible. It is certain that Russian policy will in no wise be dissuaded by any amount of diplomatic bluster, or even armed threats from Japan. Such an acknowledgment would hardly be in accordance with the past history of Russia's aggression in Asia, nor is it likely that her attitude will be changed in the future.

Having thus briefly disposed of the part which Japan may play in the political drama, we may turn to the other great power whose interests, past, present, and future, are heavily involved. The relations between Russia and England have not for years been cordial. Each has represented great Asiatic possessions; each has a great work in hand in the development and pacification of the Asiatic peoples. Dividing, as they do, so large a share of Asia between them, their separate interests must ever be immensely vital, and from no greater cause than keen rivalry must often clash.

It cannot be denied, however, that thus far Russian policy has proved more successful than disastrous. It is an open secret in European chancelleries, however pronounced the character of English official denials, that not alone in China, but throughout Central Asia, Russia is holding the whip-hand — a ruler in substance if not in name, actively, if guardedly, pushing forward to consummation her gigantic schemes for Slavonic aggression and dominance in the East. Already her traders, her spies, her military officials, and her diplomatists have threaded the wilds of Turkestan and Thibet almost to the Indian border; sowing sedition in one spot, conciliating the native tribes in another, and carefully maturing their plans for the grand *coup* when the moment shall be propitious which will insure Russian preëminence in Asia.

If Great Britain is to retain her Indian Empire a collision between her and Russia seems inevitable. There are many to-day in the British Government who do not think that the possession of her Indian Empire adds anything to England's power. She has never derived any real benefit from it, and the Indian expenditures exceed the revenues. Yet such is the force of public opinion that to hint at, or even countenance, its abandonment is a step that no English ministry would dare to suggest. With this fact in view, it is not only misleading, but downright fallacious, to suppose that in interesting herself in the political future of Asia, England is doing so in the hope of territorial aggrandizement. Toward Asia, England has no designs of conquest. Her interests do not so much demand the acquisition of new territory as the consoli-

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dation of existing institutions; the maintenance in greater strength and security of the present established order of things; and the permanency of those rulers who show themselves capable of administering their ancestral possessions.

English diplomacy, in fact, rather depends on the *vis inertiæ* of the East, the traditional and hereditary antipathy and disinclination to change which seems to belong to all Asiatic races; and England readily believes that she can rely on this as an impenetrable barrier to Russian aggression. That England should close her eyes to the frailty of this defensive bulwark is an anomaly which one can hardly reconcile with the usual shrewdness and astuteness marking English diplomacy. It may be that the English desire for merely commercial expansion may serve to explain this policy of *laissez aller;* but it is open to question whether it remains possible for a nation to enjoy all these advantages of trade expansion without correspondingly shouldering some of the burdens of territorial expansion in addition. A review of England's policy in Asia for the last half century shows that her absolute sphere of influence has not progressed as rapidly as her trade ramifications. Her acquisition of territory has been meagre, and has by no means kept pace with that of Russia. To enjoy trade supremacy without being burdened with the task of holding and safeguarding new possessions may be eminently satisfactory to British statesmen, but is this policy of making territorial aggrandizement subservient to temporary trade supremacy an enduring and safe one?

On the other hand, the policy of Russia has progressed on widely diverging lines. True it is, in so far as immediate pecuniary results are concerned, that she must suffer by comparison with England; but Russia has ever an eye to the future, and remains content to let that future tell its own story. It is difficult to predict at the present time what the future of Asia will bring forth; and it cannot be denied that political considerations have greater weight here than almost anywhere else in the world. With palpable and unmistakable evidences of what Russian diplomacy and energy have accomplished already, one cannot fail to appreciate England's danger when one considers that she occupies the precarious position of the earthenware jar, which was compelled to float down the river with its companions of brass. By her ebullition of temper when finding herself blocked in carrying through, at least for the present, her Manchurian projects, Russia has, or should have, manifested to England her determination to ride by hook or by crook to the premiership of territorial and commercial dominance in Asia.

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But this is not the only exhibition which she has given of her animus. There are straws innumerable during the last fifty years showing how the wind blows. It is only necessary to review briefly the history of Russian Asiatic policy since its inception to gain an idea of how securely the foundation has been laid which must support the superstructure of the future. The plans of Russia in China, when exposed to view, leave no doubt as to her ultimate purpose. But at other points, and as vital ones, she has struck as soundly, if not as openly, the wedge that is to split the log of any obstructive policy which may be raised up against her.

Turn from China to Persia. Although ostensibly under the protection of Great Britain, the Shah made it a point a year ago to refuse an invitation to visit England. Read the hand of Russia. The Shah's troops are being trained by Russian officers, and he has lately accepted large loans from Russia. Within the last year Russia has come to be regarded as having become the controlling power in Persian affairs, just as her influence is paramount in China.

Follow briefly the march of Russian expansion which has led to the results of the present, from the scourging forays of the Cossack chieftain Jemak, by which much of Siberia came under Russian dominion, and which mark Russia's initial aggression. It was the enterprising Peter the Great, an expansionist first and foremost, who found a footing on the Caspian Sea, and cast an envious eye upon the trade of India by way of Persia. The great Czar regarded Astarbad on the Caspian Sea, which Russia had acquired in 1722, as the base of his Indian enterprise. Half a century later, or, to be exact, in 1775, thousands of the Tartars were slaughtered; and twenty-five years later Georgia, which had been the bone of contention between Persia and Russia, was formally annexed by the Czar. Small beginnings it is true, but interesting as inaugurating a policy from which Russia has never receded or suffered any serious and enduring set-back. As early as 1801 Russia's threats Indiaward assumed alarming proportions. The Czar Paul, in fact, delighted with Napoleon's ideas of world conquest, had agreed with him upon a joint invasion of India. The arrangements, indeed, had been completed, and an army of Cossacks had started.

The death of Paul saved England that time, but it did not crush Russian ambition. Under Alexander I and his successor the spread of either Russian dominion, or Russian influence, increased, and constantly enlarged the scope of its ramifications. From that day to this Russia's diplomacy has not been idle a moment, either adding new strips of ter-

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ritory to her already gigantic Asiatic possessions, or destroying and undermining English influence in Persia, Afghanistan, China, or any other point where she wished to clear away the barrier of obstructive conditions which might threaten her future plans.

Nor has this growth been of an unsubstantial and easily destructible nature, amazing as has been its rapid spread. Russia's expansion has always been characterized by certain arbitrary and well-defined policies. She has not only conquered territory, but she has assured that her domination and occupation shall not be merely nominal. Her plan has been to plant a series of forts as each province has been annexed. In this way line after line of defences have been erected, safeguarding the integrity of her possession. In these forts have been placed thousands of Cossacks, who serve not only as soldiers, but as farmers and colonists, cultivating and developing commercially the newly acquired territory. In this way Russia not only dominates her new provinces by her military occupation, but she also develops them agriculturally, and insures permanent dominancy. How successful has been this policy is shown by drawing attention to such important episodes as the conquest of the Bokharian khanates, the formation of the Russian province of Turkestan, the seizure of all the Armenian fortresses in 1878 under the pretence of sheltering the oppressed Christians in the Turkish possessions, and the gaining of a foothold in the Akhal country, which led to the conquest of the Turkomans of Akhal and Merv, and upraised a Russian stronghold of defiance almost at the gates of India itself. Great Britain has at last succeeded in establishing a certain ascendancy over Afghanistan, embodying the fantastic, and what must prove futile, policy of a "buffer" state; but the disposition of the Ameer and his subjects to "blow hot, blow cold," and lean toward the stronger side, whichever it may be for the time being, shears this apparent advantage of any special significance.

Coming down to a more recent date, Russia's strategic occupation of the oasis of Merv — in defiance of her agreement with England by the convention of 1881 concerning the Russo-Persian frontier — when England was busily engaged in the Soudan, and the high-handed measures which she has adopted of late years in Chinese affairs in which she has a vital interest, are but outward manifestations of her grasp of the Asiatic situation. That the menace is not exaggerated can be appreciated when it is understood that Russian diplomacy, the most skilful and tactful in the world, but rarely reveals its inwardness. Therefore, if even thus masked its enormous strength is apparent, it is impossible to estimate fully the power which she holds in reserve.

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Conditions have so changed and shaped themselves within the short period of twenty-five years that English influence in Persia, for example, which was thought to be invulnerable, has been totally supplanted by that of Russia. It is an open secret that the power of the Czar is greater in Persia than is that of the Shah. The entire country of Iran is surveyed for a network of Russian railways, some of which are now being built, so that St. Petersburg and Teheran will soon be connected by rail. The railroad has, in fact, been Russia's most important engine for securing herself in the possession of her new territory. Even now it is possible for her at a moment's warning to strike rapidly and decisively at any point on or beyond her Asiatic frontier, and with little effort throw well-prepared armies of fact, not of paper, across the Persian, Afghan, or Chinese frontiers, as she may elect. The review of these historic events shows that England's scheme of a "buffer state" between the Russian possessions and India has been futile.

That Russia will succeed in her policy of aggression in China, even though the date of its fruition be delayed, is as certain as any point in her programme of expansion. The Government of Russia, which, under the stress of adverse circumstances, has shown an apparent readiness to acquiesce in the majority decision of the International Convention, has so far revealed the purely selfish motives actuating her attitude as to leave in the collective mind of civilized mankind a moral doubt of the sincerity of her purpose.

The advantage of Russia's evasive and uncertain position at the present is apparent at a glance. Though those nations with interests now at stake may receive assurances of sincerity that will justify them in placing faith in Russia's integrity, yet the whole history of her Asiatic policy shows that her promises and her most earnest diplomatic protestations are binding only until she has so prepared herself as to break them with impunity — in fact, but crafty diversions, designed to arrest suspicion until the military and diplomatic forces of the empire can be concentrated on the point of attack. And when backed by the force of might Russia is inexorable.

The impression is slowly dawning upon the minds of British diplomats that Russia is seeking, as eagerly as possible, to hasten the moment for determining supremacy in Asia — for putting to the supreme test that latent power which has been gathering for four centuries, and whose potency will be easily understood by a mere glance at Russia's dominion in Asia at present, contrasted with that in the time of Ivan. Such is, evidently, the root of England's concern in Russia's attitude in China;

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and she would pay a high price to know just how far this feeling of holding the whip-hand will lead the Russian Government. No hope can be had for the permanent integrity of China by anyone acquainted with the determined and unswerving policy nurtured in St. Petersburg. The refusal of China to sign the Manchurian treaty, a valiant attitude maintained only by assurances of support from other quarters, though it has balked, temporarily, Russia's enterprise, has by no means safeguarded Chinese interests definitely. It has, moreover, changed from bad to worse the attitude of Russia's diplomacy, which hides itself in the glove of graceful concession to demands which she cannot ignore, only that when the mailed fist is shown it will strike with a certainty which neither knows nor recognizes a policy of retrocession.

There is nothing strange in this aggressive policy of Russia. It is an entirely natural wish for national expansion. It is in no wise different from the feeling that would move American people if the conditions were reversed, and we were situated as the Russians are. If Russian extension simply served the ends of civilization and humanity no objection could be rightly urged against according to her whatever might best promote her development. But the Russian aims and ends are distinctly national — no toleration is shown for anything that antagonizes the despotic policy of the Government. The policy of England, on the contrary, is more altruistic. English influence, wherever it is exerted, is in favor of free trade. It asks for itself neither protection nor any advantages which are not equally offered to all the world.

Although it is patent that the commercial policy of Russia is stringently protectionist, with a consuming desire to obtain and hold intact for sole Russian interests all new markets, it is not possible for any nation to say that the British commercial policy is hostile or unfriendly to them. It is this menace of Russian dominance in Asia that threatens not only England, but all powers having commercial interests at stake. In our own case, the immediate result of Russian success would be to find the entire eastern coast line of Asia shut against our trade, either by special tariff restrictions or by national influences. Therefore, it is clear that our interests are identical with those of England, and that it should be our policy to show her that our interests in Asia demand her coöperation.

The frustration of the seemingly certain eventuating of Russian dominance could be accomplished only by the determined and permanent resistance of at least England, Japan, and the United States. Russia hopes, and probably not without reason, that the present jealous

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watch maintained by the International Convention is merely a spasmodic outburst that must soon vent itself, and that during the subsequent era it will fail to prevent her from winding the cords of Russian influence so securely around China as to combat successfully any future concert to block her path. If, however, the cautious attitude of the present were not relaxed at a future date, there is reason to believe that she would not persist in her efforts, and that Russian aggression, at least in Eastern Asia, would have reached its limit. It is idle to insist that it is foolish policy to pick England's chestnuts out of the fire. Naturally, from her Asiatic possessions, she is the nation most vitally interested in any plan to balk Russian designs; but it cannot be denied that we should not be undertaking a profitless and graceless task if in serving her to retain her own chestnuts we might incidentally rely on her assistance in preserving our own supply.

If Russia is confronted by a combined healthy and permanent opposition on the part of England, the United States, and Japan, there is some hope for the future. If, on the other hand, indifference, or a disposition to safeguard merely individual interests, is shown by these interested powers, or if they cannot be brought to act in harmony in the position they occupy, it is certain that Russia's interests, which perforce must be inimical to all others, will be best subserved. Although the menace of Russia's aggression in the past has been great, there is no reason to disbelieve that such a concerted opposition could, and would, withstand any effort she might make to circumvent it.

One need but look at the map to understand plainly the fears which may well haunt British diplomatic minds when there is a tremor of more than ordinary character in the smouldering volcano which may outburst with fearful violence at any moment. The success of Russia in China, as signally as she has succeeded elsewhere in Asia where she has figuratively crossed swords with England, would determine for a surety absolute Russian military and commercial dominance. This occurrence would give Russia such a fearful preponderance that England's very existence in the East would be undermined. With the possession of her fortresses and strategic military points throughout Central Asia, by the acquisition of any considerable share of China, and the securing of seaport strongholds, Russia would be able to withstand any naval demonstration that might be made by England and Japan; while it would be a comparatively easy matter to mobilize the troops now in Siberia, establishing their bases of supplies in strategic points of Central Asia and China, and to let loose the semi-barbarous and Anglo-

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phobist tribes of Turkestan, Afghanistan, and Thibet upon the luxuriant plains of India, Persia, and China.

Shut our eyes as we may to the fact, such a possible contingency, or, in fact, any political or commercial reverse which England may suffer in Asia, must have a correspondingly depressing effect on our own trade interests. We can to-day sell goods in India as openly and with the same freedom as England herself enjoys; the English never arrogating in their colonies any commercial rights which they are not prepared to share with others. On the other hand, Russian dominance would mean that the door of trade which we have succeeded in pushing open would be closed to everything not profitable to Russian interests — simply a policy of Chinese exclusiveness under another name.

At present Russia pins her faith on the supposition that the antagonism of the International Convention is not deep-rooted, and that its future potency must be impaired by internal dissensions and jealous disruptions, which will enable her to satisfy her ambitious aims of permanent Slavonic dominance throughout Asia. It is possible that, in drawing this conclusion, the Russian Government is reasoning with its customary accuracy; but it is to be hoped that those powers with vital interests at stake, and to whom the exploiting of the Asiatic continent must be of paramount interest, will not be so blind as to pave the way for such a dominance over this continent, as must prove to be a world calamity.

W. C. Jameson Reid.

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TAXES ON STREET RAILWAY FRANCHISES.

POLITICAL platforms of varying shades of opinion, students of municipal affairs, city officials, newspaper writers, and public speakers seem to be united at present in demanding that special taxes be laid upon all companies using the streets of a city for the purpose of carrying on a business for profit.

Various reasons are given for the justice of such special taxes, but two stand out with especial prominence: (1) the need of more money by the cities; and (2) the feeling that the companies have obtained from the city something of great value upon which the people must pay dividends. Our municipalities have embarked in so many enterprises that they are always in need of more money than can be raised by taxation without endangering the political control of the dominant party, and city officials welcome anything in the way of increasing municipal revenues which will not arouse the taxpayers to political action. The citizens believe that these rights in the streets were given without any compensation, and that the companies have abused the grants by capitalizing not only the actual property, but also the franchise, as well as the present and prospective earning capacity of the business; thus forcing the users to pay dividends on large amounts of fictitious capital. While this has undoubtedly been done in many cases, the imposition of a special tax on the company will not reach the evil, which must be attacked in other ways.

The question of the special taxation of municipal franchises presents many points for consideration. For example: Are the municipalities rightfully entitled to such special payments; who is to be benefited by them; who pays these taxes; and will their payment in any way affect general taxation? Careful study soon shows that strong reasons exist why such franchise companies should be exempted from all taxation rather than have extra burdens placed upon them; and this is especially true of the class most often singled out as one upon which special taxes should be laid, namely, the street railways.

The successful operation of a street railway depends upon four fac-

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tors: (1) the right to lay rails in the public ways; (2) the command of capital; (3) ability of management; and (4), most important of all, the use by the public of the facilities afforded.

The right to lay rails on the surface of the streets is generally considered the only one of these factors to be taken into account; and it is assumed that the public receives no compensation for the grant of this right unless a money payment is made for it, although in fact the people get a large return in the facilities given for cheap and rapid transportation. Streets are laid out for the accommodation of all the people to enable them to transact business conveniently; and the preparation of some part of the surface in a particular way to accommodate some special form of vehicle, such as a street car or a bicycle, does not prevent the legitimate use of the street by persons who desire to walk or drive upon it. It has been repeatedly declared by the courts that the presence of rails in the street imposes no additional burden for which compensation can be claimed, and that this use of the street is wholly consistent with the purpose for which the highway was laid out. This was strictly true when street-car traction was confined to horses; but with the introduction of large electric cars moving at high speed there arises a practical modification of this theory. Owing to their presence in the street, the roadway available for ordinary travel is, to a certain degree, restricted, and the usual traffic is confined within narrower limits, or is driven into other streets. This limitation of available street surface increases the cost of repairs, and it is only right that the additional cost should be put on the street railways. But this in itself is not a good reason for imposing any tax on the franchise. It is rather an argument for requiring the repayment of the actual amount expended.

Capital and ability of management may be safely relied on to secure their remuneration; and only the people who use the cars need the aid of laws and regulations.

What, then, is the relation of the users to the question; and how do they fare when money compensation for franchises is exacted by the municipality? The rapid growth of our cities makes the problem of rapid transit within urban and suburban districts the most important municipal question with which we have to deal. As the cities grow, the area within which a man may live and easily walk to his work becomes overfilled, and rents rise to such a point that a worker must move away from the business centre. The steam railroads attempt to solve the problem of rapid transit by running frequent trains to the suburbs; but for various causes it is impossible for them to meet the whole demand.

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The first improvement introduced in urban transportation was the omnibus, which required no special form of pavement. This was soon followed by the street car drawn by horses on its own roadway laid in the streets. After this, in quick succession, came cable and electric cars, now supplemented by elevated and underground railways. The effect of these changes in methods has been to increase very greatly the area within which the working-man can find a residence; and large tracts of suburban land have been made available for dwellings, to the great advantage of the landowners. If we assume that one hour represents the maximum amount of time that can be taken to go to one's place of business, a man who walks can have his dwelling within a circle of three and one-half miles radius, or within an area of thirty-eight square miles; if he can use a horse-car travelling at the rate of seven miles an hour, the district which is open to him covers 154 square miles; if it is an electric car with a speed of fifteen miles, the district will contain 706 square miles; and if he can be given a speed of twenty-five miles per hour by means of overhead or underground tracks, the district within which he may live and reach his business in one hour will have an area of almost 2,000 square miles.

The results of this widening of the city area have been of incalculable value to all whose business requires them to spend their days in its heart. Instead of being obliged to reside within narrow limits, where land is expensive and rents are high, the population may be spread out into large districts, where land is cheap, and where each house may stand detached. Rapid means of transit with low fares have affected the tenement-house districts, where overcrowding is the rule, and have, therefore, exerted a great influence on the social conditions within the cities. Extended areas in the country have been built up with houses of medium cost, the rents of which fall within the means of the day-laborer; and these lower rents and improved conditions have led to the removal of many families from the crowded parts of the cities out into these newly established suburbs. This transference of population has had an effect on rents in both city and suburbs; and as the better-paid class of working-men, brought by improved methods of transit within comparatively easy access of their work, have moved away from the cities, their places have been taken by newly arrived immigrants from foreign countries. Real-estate values, also, have been affected to a marked degree. The land in the older city remains dear, because of the increased demand for land for business purposes; but values in the suburbs are enhanced many times because of the availability of these districts for residences.

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These opportunities for the improvement of the condition of the working-man are a form of compensation which the street railway gives in return for the right to occupy the streets, and it is one which is of the greatest importance to the whole community. A special tax laid upon these companies, the people's carriers, falls most directly on those who can least afford it, on those who are obliged to use the cars. The smaller the wages the greater the proportion of them which these persons are called upon to give up to the city; for it must be plain to every one that a tax of this sort is not paid by the companies, but is only collected by them and paid over to the city treasurer — that, in short, the company acts only as an agent in transferring the amount of this tax from the pockets of the users of the service to the municipality. The policy of the cities toward the street railways should be exactly the opposite of that advocated by so many. No taxes should be imposed upon these transportation companies beyond those which all property-owners must bear, with enough in addition to compensate the city for the increased wear and tear on the streets; but every effort should be made by the municipality to care for the rights of the neglected partner. The rates of fare should be fixed at the lowest limits consistent with a fair return on the actual capital invested; and every inducement possible should be offered to the companies to extend their service to all parts of the suburbs.

To bring about the proper relations between these companies and the public some legislation is necessary, and a great deal must be done in the way of educating public opinion. The companies and the people must both be taught that they are partners in the enterprise, and that each is essential to the success of the undertaking. The companies should be made to keep their accounts in a manner prescribed by some public authority, and they should be audited by a competent public official. When these accounts show that the profit on the money actually invested in the plant exceeds a certain amount, then fares should be reduced by an impartial tribunal, acting after a thorough investigation of all the conditions. This reduction will benefit the public; but the company at the same time should be given an inducement to continue in the extension of its service, and this can be done by allowing an increase in the rate of dividend for each reduction in the rate of fare. The idea that increased profits should be shared between the users and the companies should underlie all attempts to establish the relations between the people and the public-service companies. If this be kept in mind, then those vitally interested will receive their fair share of the benefits.

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The advantages to be derived from a complete system of rapid transit, extending in all directions through the suburbs of a large city, and giving low rates of fare, are manifold. The benefit to the city itself, by the opening up of large tracts of unimproved land with the consequent enhancement in taxable value, will be plainly shown in the tax roll; and this of itself is ample compensation for the grant of the right to lay rails in the streets. The improvement in the social conditions of the city through the distribution of the population over larger areas, and the consequent diminution of the evils of overcrowding in tenement-house districts, are not easy to estimate in terms of dollars and cents; but they result in a very solid advantage to the health and morals of the community. Any improvement in this direction tends to reduce the expenditures of the city for sanitary, charitable, and police purposes, and this reduction in outgo is also a form of compensation.

In short, if our municipalities and municipal reformers will treat the street railways as institutions to be fostered, exempt them from all unnecessary burdens, insist on low rates of fare, and allow those investing their money a fair return on the money actually invested, then all the partners in the enterprise will benefit far more than will be the case when efforts are continually made to hamper their development by the imposition of extra burdens.

WALTER S. ALLEN.

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PREFERENCES AND THE BANKRUPTCY LAW.

WE are now fully entered upon the fourth year of our National Bankruptcy Act. The present generation of business men and lawyers had never before had experience with a bankruptcy law, and it has taken considerable time for us to understand it.

At first, its function as an instrument for releasing insolvents from their debts seemed its most notable feature, and many, even among lawyers, still mistakenly conceive this function to be practically its whole object, and regard all else as merely incidental. On the other hand, bankruptcy laws, historically considered, were in the beginning exclusively creditors' laws; that is to say, they were originally enacted wholly for the better protection of creditors against the wiles of dishonest debtors, and for obtaining a fairer distribution of an insolvent's estate. The bankrupt's discharge from his debts was a later development — a mere corollary, so to speak, based upon public policy and upon the humane idea that where a failing debtor has been stripped by his creditors of all assets and has honestly and fully made disclosure of his affairs to them, he should be relieved from the remainder of his debts and be given a new lease of business life. Thus developed, bankruptcy law has become by successive stages better rounded; caring for creditor and debtor alike.

At the time that Congress passed the present act, few appreciated the magnitude and responsibility of the work done. By it Congress superimposed upon the forty-five divers systems of commercial law of the several States of the Union, each having its own mysteries and local influences for the bewilderment of non-resident creditors and the undoing of small and inexperienced ones, one great uniform system of jurisprudence, covering the entire field of business transactions, and affecting with a firm and impartial hand commercial dealings of all kinds in every part of the land. After our three years' experience of the various beneficial features of this law — its expeditiousness, thoroughness, economy, uniformity, and fairness — it is not likely that business men will consent to revert to the old régime. A federal bankruptcy law of some kind is likely from this time forth to be a permanent part of American jurisprudence, as it is of that of almost every other civilized nation on the globe.

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The next feature of the act that commanded our attention was its prohibition of preferences, as they are called; and it is this feature that is the particular subject of the present article.

Formerly when an insolvent failed it would inevitably be found that on the eve of failure he had fully paid up or secured some favored creditor — perhaps his wife, or his bank, or the firm from which he bought the bulk of his goods. Seldom did a cent filter out to his other creditors. It was fortunate, indeed, if the debts thus preferred were not even fictitious in part. Distrust pervaded the commercial world, and creditors eyed each other like hungry wolves gathered around a trembling sheep. The real solidarity that should exist among creditors and between them and their debtor was lost sight of, and mutual confidence was sacrificed to the idea that he who came first should be first served. Indeed, the old legal maxim that the law favors the diligent creditor came finally to assume almost the guise of a sacred precept.

To such a degree did the giving of preferences extend that merchants viewed with suspicion a business man who had one principal creditor carrying him along; experience showing that such creditor generally held up his sleeve a chattel mortgage or cognovit note, which enabled him to jump in and seize the debtor's assets at the latter's signal, allowing the rest of the creditors meanwhile to fill up the bins in reliance upon the false appearance of solvency thus created. Now all this is changed; and while a few big houses, which had formerly been "on top" at every failure, are found grumbling at the preference feature of the act, because, as they put it, it "interferes with business," most business men have come to look upon the law with favor precisely because of this prohibition of preferences.

However, it must be admitted that this law goes farther than any former enactment in declaring what constitutes a preference. A mere payment upon an account in the ordinary course of business made by an insolvent person within a period of four months before his going into bankruptcy is held to constitute a preference, wherever it operates to give one creditor a greater percentage of his claim than some other. This is so whether or not such creditor knew of the insolvent's condition, or even had reasonable cause to be suspicious. The Supreme Court of the United States has not only so held but has gone farther, and, in interpreting section 57 (g) of the act has decided that such creditor cannot be permitted to share in the dividend with other creditors unless he first surrenders his preference; although, in case he chooses to stay out of the proceedings altogether, he cannot be compelled to surrender his

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preference unless it can be shown that he took it under circumstances indicating that he ought to have known what was the real condition of the insolvent.

This ruling, while conceded to be a correct interpretation of the law, has given rise to a storm of protest against the Bankruptcy Act itself from many business men, and vigorous efforts will undoubtedly be made to effect a change in these particulars at the next session of Congress. These protestants deem it a hardship that a creditor who has been diligent enough to make close collections should be obliged, although he was at the time ignorant of the debtor's condition, to surrender all collections made within four months of the debtor's insolvency if he would participate with the other creditors in obtaining what satisfaction is possible for the remainder of his claim.

In my opinion, the true scope and bearing of this feature of the law are not appreciated by those who hold this view. Not only is the Supreme Court's decision a correct interpretation of the statute in these particulars, but, rightly understood, the law so interpreted is eminently just, and is the wisest law that we have ever had covering the points mentioned. The fundamental principle upon which it stands is not adequately comprehended. Its starting-point is the recognition of the fact that an insolvent's estate is a trust fund.

Unless we adopt the point of view taken by the Bankruptcy Act itself, we cannot, of course, hope to arrive at a correct appreciation of its provisions. Along with other branches of equity that are concerned with the distribution of insolvents' estates, it casts aside, apparently without hesitation, one of the cardinal principles of Anglo-Saxon common law, namely, that the law favors the diligent creditor; and it adopts in its stead, and more courageously than any other law concerned with such estates, the equitable principle that equality is equity, and that he that asks equity must do equity. It is as if a company were invited to sit down to a meagre meal. The common law says: "Seize what you can as quickly as you can, even if nothing is left for others." But the Bankruptcy Law steps in and says: "There is little enough at best, but let all sit down and eat quietly, each taking his proper share. There is not enough for everyone to have his fill, but no one shall starve." This is not an unfair statement of the respective attitudes of the two great opposite systems of jurisprudence which, within their respective spheres, govern our business world.

Each has its proper place. When a man is solvent it is perfectly right and just that the common law should operate in its full vigor.

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But a moment's reflection will at once show that when he becomes insolvent, the common law, with its opportunities for acquiring preferences, does not work justice. As long as a man is solvent he is doing business on his own money; but the moment he becomes insolvent he ceases to do business on his own money and begins to do it on his creditor's money — in fact, he is then using trust funds, the funds of his creditors. A recognition of this fact at once justifies the preference feature of the present Bankruptcy Law. Why should one creditor "hog it all," as the coarse phrase is? Is it not, if rightly considered, the fund of all the other creditors as well, each in his proper proportion?

Nor should it avail him to cry out that he did not know that the meal was so scanty; that he obtained his share innocently. It is not a question of good intentions or of good morals, but purely a question of enough food. The use of the word "innocent" in this connection is an argument in itself, and is misleading. It seems to imply that other creditors are guilty of wrong-doing. In truth, it simply means, under the present bankruptcy law, that the creditor did not take the preference under circumstances indicating that he suspected the debtor's real condition, and that the effect intended was to prefer him. But of what crime, pray, is that creditor "guilty" who did suspect that the estate was insolvent and that the effect would be a preference, and yet was alert enough to get his pay? Each, equally, has depleted the trust fund at the expense of the others. Certainly, in morals the latter is just as blameless as the former; and no good reason can be shown for calling one "guilty" and the other "innocent," still less for allowing the "innocent" one to keep his preference and share equally with the rest for the unpaid balance whilst obliging the "guilty" one to surrender his preference. The question of "innocence" or "guilt" has nothing to do with the matter of preferences. The point is simply that there is not enough to go round; that what there is belongs to all; and that if one creditor gets his share in advance, whether "innocently" or "guiltily," he must put it back if he wishes to share with the rest. It is an entire misconception of the purpose and effect of the law relating to the surrender of so-called "innocent" preferences to speak of it as thus imposing a "penalty." And equally infelicitous is the sarcasm of those who speak of it as thus punishing "fraudless frauds." There is no penalty, or fraud, or innocence, or guilt in it at all. It is simply a question of the division of a trust fund too meagre to pay all creditors in full.

A corollary of this trust-fund theory, which has received more or

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less complete recognition in the act, is that when by insolvency the debtor's estate has thus become a trust fund, a creditor who thereafter gives him further goods on credit, and thus increases the trust fund, is entitled to offset such contributions against any preference he may be charged with, and to reduce *pro tanto* the amount of preference he must surrender; so that, if, for example, he has thrown into the trust fund precisely as much as he has taken therefrom, he is acquitted of any preference at all, and is entitled to share in full. This secondary principle serves to abate the apparent rigor of the requirement of the surrender of so-called innocently received preferences. The main principle and corollary together furnish a harmonious and intelligent working rule that the present writer in his own experience, covering as it does the cases of almost five hundred bankruptcy estates, has found to produce fairness and justice to all.

In the case of a recent estate, where the assets distributed to creditors amounted to $65,000, and each creditor received forty per cent of his claim, the bankrupt's attorney openly stated that had it not been for the prohibitions of the Bankruptcy Act, not less than $40,000 or $50,000 of this sum would have been given to a few preferred creditors, leaving a balance that would not have sufficed to pay three or four per cent to the remainder. From the point of view of public policy and the good of the commercial community at large, we may ask which was better, that a few creditors should be paid in full and the remaining three or four hundred receive a mere pittance, or that all the creditors alike should receive nearly the half of their respective claims, and none be paid in full? A law that produces the latter result and prevents the former has, at any rate, a tendency to distribute the effects of a financial failure, and thereby to steady trade. Often, in my own administration of bankruptcy estates, I have found one or another creditor pertinently asking: Is such and such a creditor, who has been getting payments right along on his debt up to the eve of bankruptcy, going to share for his unpaid balance the same rate of dividend that I get who have received nothing? Thus, we see that there is another side to the preference question, and that the advocates of an amendment to the act allowing creditors to keep their "innocent" preferences and yet share with those who have received nothing have not all the arguments upon their side.

Indeed, it is my conviction that wherever a business man is found advocating such an amendment it will be discovered either that he has not looked at both sides of the question or that he belongs to one of the

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great mercantile houses that used to thrive upon preferences. But it must not be forgotten that the Bankruptcy Act was not expected to please those who throve best under a régime of preferences. The great body of merchants and business men, those who have no organization and who cannot afford to send eloquent advocates to talk before congressional committees, would by such a change come to find the Bankruptcy Law no longer the strong, just arm of the big protecting brother that they now find it. Such a change would throw the door wide open again for the reappearance of all the old-time pestiferous preferences. It would, in addition, make an unworkable rule for the practical, swift, and economical administration of bankrupt estates. For then every creditor who had received a preference would insist on a lawsuit to determine whether or not he took the preference under circumstances indicating knowledge of the debtor's condition; and the result would, in great measure, be a lottery — a premium upon falsehood, no matter how able and impartial the court might be, and an unbearable expense to bankrupt estates, swamping them in litigation over intentions and reasonable grounds for belief. We should, indeed, strive to keep as far as possible from questions of intent in commercial law; their introduction always produces uncertainty and litigation. Commercial law is not concerned with punishment. As the rule regarding preferences now is, it is founded on the bed-rock of justice. It is fair to all; it is easily and economically administered; it is sensible; and no one can escape its application. It is, in fact, a straightforward and consistent rule.

Whatever other changes we may make during the next Congress, let us not touch the requirement that "innocent" as well as "guilty" preferences must be surrendered if the creditor would participate farther in the bankruptcy estates; for this is one of the wisest provisions of the best Bankruptcy Law we have ever had.

HAROLD REMINGTON.

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF AFRICA.

AFRICA is now the land of golden opportunity. Victor Hugo said that Africa would be the cynosure of all eyes in the twentieth century. When Shakspere made his ancient Pistol exclaim, "I speak of Africa and golden joys," the poet was a greater prophet than he knew. Millions of his countrymen have since been echoing his words. Indeed, the refrain has been the cry of the whole world. The wonderful opportunity presented in what was termed a few years ago "The Dark Continent" has never been so pronounced and clearly revealed as to-day. Several prominent facts about the situation in Africa at present justify and illustrate this statement.

Africa is the last of the continents to be developed and settled. Its political outlines have been already defined, and are rapidly being fixed along logical lines. Its geographical position makes it a strategic territory, as was seen in the recent war with Spain, and has been illustrated frequently in history. It is of the greatest international importance, because it is the only large land mass that is divided up into parts assigned to the factious European powers. The continent is not only of enormous dimensions, but rich beyond the dreams of avarice in every kind of natural wealth. For the development of these resources there is at hand a tremendous force of labor — cheap, powerful, docile, and far more intelligent than is usually supposed. Standing now where America stood in the days of the youth of Washington, Africa looks out upon a wide world, and invites the conquering Caucasian in.

Africa's undeveloped condition constitutes one of its chief attractions. Unlike China and India, it is hampered by no effete and decaying civilization, impeding progress and constituting a continual barrier against every effort from without. The African native has nothing to give up before serving the purposes of the pioneers of progress. The new field can accordingly be worked by the most recent inventions and appliances. It is easier to build a new civilization than to make an old one as good as the new. The promoter of African enterprises approaches his task equipped with the railway, the steamboat, the telegraph, the

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telephone, the steam or electric plough, the ice machine, the automobile, and all the other wonderful means of progress of to-day. Not only is it true that the mechanical contrivances for developing the country are such as vastly to facilitate the work, but the knowledge of mankind in every direction is so much greater than in previous centuries that Africa ought to profit thereby. Governments ought to be better, cities more beautifully designed, industrial installations more conveniently arranged, and every department of life ought to reap the advantage of the experience of the past and the power of the present.

The day of exploration in Africa is now over. It is to be succeeded by that of exploitation. There is left comparatively little unknown territory to be discovered, but there are whole empires to be built, and unparalleled realms of commerce, science, politics, transportation, mining, agriculture, and manufactures to be investigated. Colossal fortunes will be acquired, gigantic companies operated, and herculean tasks performed in this work of subduing the last of the white man's heritage to complete submission.

African territorial questions formed in 1884 the subject of an international conference at Berlin, over which Prince Bismarck presided, and at which the principal powers of the world were represented. The chief results of this convention were the apportionment of parts of the continent among the powers of Europe, the prohibition of the slave trade, the prohibition of the liquor traffic in Central Africa, the agreement that for a zone in Central Africa as large as the whole of Europe the tariff on imports should be uniformly at the low rate of six per cent, and the opening of the navigable rivers to the commerce of the world.

Since that conference the appropriation of the continent by the powers has proceeded at a rapid rate. Not a square mile of land remains over which sovereignty is not claimed, and in most cases effectively established, by some organized government. Scores of steamboats ply the waters of the rivers, railways are being built in every part, commercial companies operate all over the land, the natives have turned from eating each other to working on the railways and mines and buying Armour's beef, and men who chased Stanley down the Congo are now piloting steamboats up. England controls Egypt, the Niger, the Upper Nile, Uganda, the stretch between Victoria Nyanza and Zanzibar, and most of the Zambesi valley; she will soon be paramount in South Africa also. France controls most of North Africa, the Sahara, the Central Soudan, the Senegal, most of the north bank of the Congo, and a large part of West Africa. Germany has three large colonies in West Africa

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and one in East Africa. Portugal owns nearly 1,000,000 square miles in East and West Africa. The King of Belgium is sovereign of most of the Congo valley, a territory nearly as large as the valley of the Mississippi. In a country as large as the United States, where twenty years ago there was not one white man, there are now thousands engaged in peaceful and lucrative trades and pursuits. Some of the business companies have made enormous fortunes, and the commercial centres of Europe have been in a ferment over the exploitation of their parts of the Dark Continent. Gold, diamonds, rubber, palm-oil, timber, hides, ivory, copper, coal — all these and more have shown that there is vast wealth in the land of Ham.

The geographical position of Africa gives it great international importance. It stands sentinel over the chief route to India and the East. The professor of tactics in a British military college has recently called attention to the fact that the military occupation of North Africa by the French seriously threatens British supremacy in the Mediterranean. The control of Africa by the Mohammedans once nearly destroyed European authority, and menaced the Caucasian world for a thousand years. The power that wields most influence in Africa is likely, sooner or later, to dominate Europe. The war in South Africa is more than any mere assertion of a local suzerainty: it is part of an immense and determined policy to control the whole African continent for the interests of the British Empire. England would have fought France over Fashoda as readily as she is fighting the Boers. The most aggressive statesmen in the world mean to control Africa, and to have no such blundering as that of Lord North in America. It is inspiring to watch this play of the Titans for dominion; it is exhilarating to share it. Another important fact, not as fully appreciated as it deserves, is that Africa is the continent most accessible to all parts of the world. It is next to Asia in size, and so immense that it contains nearly four times the land area of the United States. It is the only one of the large continents that is completely circumnavigable.

The internal geography of the continent has an important bearing on its commercial future. The very causes of the long delay in penetrating the interior now prove the white man's best friends. One obstacle was found in the high mountain ranges running parallel with the coast; making insurmountable cataracts in the rivers, and hindering entrance otherwise. These cataracts now afford power for the generation of electricity, by which trains will speed through the mountains into the interior. These mountains themselves afford seats for the Caucasian from

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which he can administer the rest of the land. They enclose elevated plateaus far more healthful than the coast which gave Africa its bad name. There are four distinct river basins of the first class: those of the Nile, the Niger, the Congo, and the Zambesi. These rivers are navigable for immense distances. Their basins are alluvial, the adjacent plateaus fertile, and their watersheds as healthful as any one could wish. The Sahara has been found to abound in water just below the surface, so that artesian wells can turn the desert into a garden, and the passage of a railroad across its sands can be easily effected.

The special inducements offered by Africa to the capitalist or the colonist are mainly the security of European government, with treaty rights for all, the extraordinary natural resources, and the cheap and efficient labor.

All over Africa are now established stations of the different European powers, manned by white men and civilized native soldiery, placed at the most important points, and affording security to life and property. When titles to land are purchased by any one in these districts, it becomes the duty of the government granting them to guarantee security with them. All the powers are obliged by international treaties to grant these titles without discrimination. The price of land for agricultural purposes in Central Africa is forty cents an acre. The taxes for all purposes, including dues on imports and exports, all special licenses, and every kind of governmental obligation, do not exceed a total of ten per cent on the value of property and merchandise. The transportation companies are held legally responsible for the delivery of freight, and goods may be shipped from any point in America to Central Africa on a through bill of lading. Postal arrangements have been so perfected that there are regular post-offices all over the country, and the service is under the regulations of the Postal Union. The time of communication from New York to the heart of Africa is now twenty-five days.

The natural resources of Africa are varied, and occur in quantities to stagger belief. Of the minerals there are precious stones, diamonds, coal, petroleum, and petrified gums; of the metals there are iron, gold, copper, and lead; of vegetable products, rubber, palm-oil, timber, peanuts, corn, mandioca, coffee, cocoa, rice, plantains, bananas, kola, oranges, limes, guavas, mangoes. Indeed, every plant and vegetable known flourishes on some part of the land. Of animal wealth there are herds of buffalo and of all the tropical beasts. The rivers abound in fish, and the woods are full of wild-fowl.

Before describing the resources of Africa in detail, it is well to note

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that as yet there has been only the slightest investigation of the natural wealth of the country. There are vast territories whose possibilities have never been determined. There are enormous quantities of all kinds of produce and crude material which have not yet been touched, as well as wide territories whose resources have not been examined.

The wealth of Africa in precious stones and diamonds is so well known as not to need much comment. These are found chiefly in South Africa; but they are widely distributed over the whole continent, and have been associated with the locality of Kimberley only because the long-settled colony of the Cape developed them so rapidly. About $30,000,000 worth of these stones has been produced annually, and the productivity of the mines is on the increase.

Probably the largest coal-field in the world is in the upper Zambesi valley. When the building of transcontinental railways has begun in earnest, the mining of this coal will be a great industry. In view of the facts that on the West Coast of Africa the price of imported coal is $15 a ton, that there is now a large demand by steamers, and that railways are being constructed in many parts of the country, the utilization of this coal ought to be the work of a few years only. Petroleum oil issues forth in several places in natural springs, which have been regarded by the natives with superstitious wonder. The gums of Africa are many and varied. I once came upon a bed of buried copal, and found that it was acres in extent.

The iron ore in Africa is of enormous extent and fine quality. It occurs all over the continent, and for centuries the natives have been in the habit of reducing it and making from it certain articles for their own use. There are several different ores, the most noticeable being the brown hematite and the black magnetite. The natives have small furnaces built of clay, using charcoal for fuel. The pig iron they thus produce is really of good quality, and their blacksmithing is wonderful. With coal and limestone in the same formation as this fine iron, the future possibilities of the iron industry there are not the least of Africa's opportunities. I discovered a solid mountain of black magnetic iron ore, which deflected the compass a quarter of a mile distant, and the rocks of which, when struck with a hammer, rang like an anvil. There were fine crystals of pure iron scattered throughout the mass.

The annual output of gold in Africa now amounts to a total of over $40,000,000 per year. The gold-bearing countries have hardly been touched as yet. There are vast regions undoubtedly rich in gold which have not yet been exploited at all. In some parts of the continent it

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was long the custom of the Africans to barter gold-dust for equal quantities of salt. The new methods of treating the gold ores which obtain in South Africa are calculated to save large quantities of gold which were formerly wasted.

The most widely mined and commonly used metal in Africa is copper. The ores of this metal occur in almost unlimited quantities; and considerable mining is done by the natives, though their methods are of the simplest. Strange to say, the whites have practically done nothing in the copper industry, though there is a large demand for copper at the gold mines, where it is used in extracting the gold from the ores. Lead is found in connection with the copper deposits.

The enormous dimensions of the rubber trade may be illustrated by mention of the fact that the value of the rubber imported annually into the United States is greater than the annual production of gold. In the year 1899 its value was about $35,000,000. The greater part of this rubber came from South America. It has been found only recently that the forests of Africa abound in rubber of the finest quality, in almost inexhaustible quantities, and easy to obtain and market. The crude rubber is usually collected in the forests by the natives, who carry it to the stations on the navigable rivers, where white men buy it from them, giving in exchange cotton cloth, salt, beads, tools, and other articles of home manufacture. The profits usually made on this rubber are enormous, as the natives sell it for a very slight part of its real value. It is common for a pound of raw rubber to be bought from the natives for a yard of white sheeting, at a time when the price of that pound of rubber is a dollar in the markets of Europe. Even after the heavy expenses of transportation and all other charges are paid, this rubber trade pays the companies engaged in it larger dividends than are made by the gold mining companies of South Africa. The price of rubber has been steadily rising in the market for the last few years, notwithstanding the increased production. The development of electrical appliances, the bicycle, the automobile, the rubber tires — all these make the demand for this article quite heavy. The forests of Africa will be able to supply thousands of tons of the crude material as fast as the trade is developed. An intelligent and industrious trader can buy, in parts of Africa known to me, as much as fifty tons of rubber annually without difficulty, at the gross value of $100,000, in exchange for merchandise costing only $5,000. The method of gathering this rubber need not destroy the vine or tree from which it is procured; and the sources of the supply are almost unlimited. As will be shown later, the cheapness of labor is one reason

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for this great opportunity. The rubber forests occur chiefly along the large navigable streams, thus facilitating the transportation.

Palm-oil has long been a principal article of export from West Africa. This oil is extracted from the nut of a palm-tree growing all over the continent. The tree produces a large bunch of kernels covered with a fibrous integument, which is full of a rich oily substance. The natives gather the nuts and pound them in large wooden mortars. They then put the pulp into a pot of water and boil it until the water is evaporated, when the fibrous matter and other impurities are skimmed off the surface, leaving the pure oil. This is used in the native cookery, and also, to some extent, in that of the Europeans. It is also largely exported for use in the manufacture of soap, as a cheap lubricant, and for the purposes to which vegetable oils may be put. The tree on which these nuts grow is the same as that from which is obtained the famous palm-champagne. It produces about 100 pounds of the nuts per year, yielding about twenty pounds of oil. The tree is the principal ornament of the plains, as the rubber vine is of the forests. A square mile of an African savannah will average about 1,000 of these trees in the native state, capable of producing ten tons of oil per year. Of course, the planting of the trees would produce a greatly increased yield. This same palm furnishes material for house-building and for furniture, the covering for roofs, the fibre for cloth, and the splits for mats. Its tender core when young makes a relished vegetable resembling cabbage.

The day is not far distant when Africa will be called upon to supply a large part of the lumber of the world. The exhaustion of the forests of other continents leads to a serious problem, and one of the most fortunate facts about Africa is that the supply of timber is so immense. In Central Africa alone there is an area of over 1,000,000 square miles entirely covered with heavy forests, whose proximity to the navigable rivers allows of their easy utilization. There are many valuable hardwoods beside woods that are capable of being easily worked. Many of the trees are of enormous size, while the thickness with which they grow in the forests is almost incredible. As yet, little has been done to utilize this great supply of timber.

In the matter of the raising of agricultural crops and fruit, it is to be observed that there is a great diversity of soil and climate, from the summits of mountains covered with perpetual snow, or the temperate regions of Algeria and the Cape, to the blazing equator. Anything raised in Europe or America can be raised in Africa. But it is in the tropics that the wonderful richness of agricultural resources appears.

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The soil is so rich, and the heat and humidity are so great, that the production is amazing. Corn or maize is grown at all seasons of the year, and one may have ripe and green corn in the same field. A yield of 100 bushels to the acre is ordinarily expected, and two or sometimes three separate crops are reaped in one year. The mandioca is the staple article with the natives. From it tapioca is made. The roots of this plant may be pounded into a fine flour. The yield of an acre in mandioca is ordinarily about 30,000 pounds, or twice the largest known yield of wheat. This proportion of yield is true of most things. The plantain, a delicious and nutritious food, yields as much per acre as the mandioca. Potatoes need never be taken from the ground, save as needed for the table. A single potato patch, once planted, grows on indefinitely. Cotton is a perennial plant. There are many fibrous plants from which the natives make ropes, but which have not yet been utilized by the foreigner. Sir William Crookes has lately called attention to the coming limit of production in civilized lands, and the importance of the tropics as sources of food. The exchange of manufactured articles for the raw material of those regions will be the commerce of this century, and Africa has more available land for the raising of these supplies than any other part of the world.

The country is equally rich in animals, wild and domestic. The wild animals of commercial value are the elephant, the antelope, the hippopotamus, the crocodile, the buffalo, the boar, and the ostrich. These are valued for either their tusks, their hides, their feathers, or their meat. Of course, there are other wild beasts which have some value. Then there are many birds good for food, such as the goose, the duck, the pigeon, the guinea, the quail, and the peacock. Of domestic animals, the sheep, the goat, the hog, the cow, and the usual domestic fowls are common. The cattle-raising industry is in its infancy, and the wide plains offer boundless room for that enterprise.

The ease with which the necessaries of life are produced may explain the remarkable cheapness of labor in most parts of Africa. In vast regions of the continent the wage paid to ordinary labor amounts to about three cents a day of our money. This includes everything. This low wage may sound like a hardship but when the price of a fowl is a spoonful of salt, when a bushel of corn may be purchased for ten cents, when more than a few yards of clothing would be uncomfortable, and when a single palm-tree will furnish house, furniture, oil, and beverage, without being cut down, it will be understood why the Africans flock to get employment from the white man at these rates. I have turned off

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hundreds of men begging for work at such wages, and if I had had the means I could have employed thousands. The employment of labor is facilitated by the customs of the country, according to which the chief, or king, exercises such large authority over his subjects that a contract may be made with him for any number of men for a specified time, agreeably to the desires of the men themselves. Another factor in the labor problem is the universal custom for the women to do such a large share of the manual work. Previously to the advent of the white man, the men could live on the agricultural labors of the women. Now, when the men work for the foreigner, the women still continue to work also, and this fact contributes immensely to the gross product of the country. The coming of the white man trebles the product of the country at once.

The quality of this labor is astonishingly better than might be expected. The laborers work all day long without much complaint, and many become skilled artisans with a little training. Their docility, obedience, and alacrity make them pleasant to work with. In Central Africa there are now carpenters, masons, pilots, and engineers who ten years ago were eating their people in the bushes.

With labor as cheap as this it need not be surprising that slaves have been equally cheap. The usual price of a grown man in Central Africa has been about $3, and thousands have changed masters at that price. This may give some idea of the profitableness of the slave trade in the old days when a slave brought $500 at the port of entry. Though the ocean trade has ceased, and the internal traffic is forbidden, there is still a good deal of exchanging of men for goods going on surreptitiously in the continent among the natives themselves. Then there is a veiled form of slavery still practised by many of the whites, who induce the blacks to sign long-term labor contracts by making their marks on a prepared paper, thus coming within the letter of the law. But most of the slaves greatly prefer thus to get under the protection of the white man to being exposed to the dangers of their own towns, where they are liable to be eaten, or sacrificed on funeral occasions. One of the noblest enterprises in the world would be the establishment of industrial plants, where these unfortunate people could be safe and could be put to remunerative employment. The vast numbers of this class lend the high character of true philanthropy to every effort to develop the continent and to give these people a living with security.

Commerce in Africa necessarily depends on the exploitation of the natural resources mentioned above. Immediately after the cessation of

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the external slave-trade all commerce languished, until the results of the great geographical discoveries of the last thirty years began to appear, and it became evident that Africa was rich in much besides men. The products of the country were in demand in Europe and America, and soon large commercial companies began to be formed in order to trade with the natives on a regular basis. The Portuguese had been the pioneers in this way, and their merchants had established stations in many parts of the country. Then the Dutch came also to the front in seeking to buy the ivory, gold-dust, palm-oil, and other produce from the Africans, who are keen to engage in trade. The British followed suit, then the Belgians, the Germans, the French, and the Scandinavians. Now the British commercial influence is, of course, the largest; and there are some companies capitalized at many millions, with posts all round the coasts, and penetrating the remote interior. There are about a dozen different steamship lines running from different European ports — Liverpool, Antwerp, Rotterdam, Hamburg, Marseilles, and Lisbon — which connect with the various African railways and river steamboat lines.

The most interesting feature of African commerce is the direct bartering with the natives. Let us look at a trading station in the heart of the continent. A large clearing has been made in the forest which rises up from the river's bank. The river is about the size of the Missouri at Kansas City, and the clearing is of about 200 acres in extent. Several houses, each perhaps as large as Washington's house at Mt. Vernon, are placed above the river, being the dwellings, storehouses, and trade house of the establishment. These buildings are constructed of bamboo from the palm, and have clay floors raised above the ground by filling in a rectangular enclosure of posts with earth to the desired height. Behind the large houses are a number of smaller ones for the native servants and employees, numbering perhaps a hundred persons. A file of natives from the surrounding country may be seen coming up to the principal houses, laden with ivory, rubber, palm-oil, and fowls, and all heavily armed with spears, bows and arrows, and knives, or an occasional gun. They call for the white man, and soon he is in the thick of the trade. He must watch well, and know his business, for these Africans are no fools, and will do all they can to outwit him. Some want salt, some cloth, some beads, some brass wire, some hoes and knives. Then they must all have a present at parting, and when they go each is full of how he got the better of the trader.

Perhaps a steamboat may be arriving. The whole population sets up a mighty yelling, and everybody makes a rush to the landing. The

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cargo is discharged, the mail is secured, the crew are made happy with fresh food, and the white men repair together to exchange greetings and the news of the country. Then the steamer is loaded with the cargo in the store for shipment, and proceeds on its way to gladden the heart of some other settler. Sometimes there are several white men at these posts, but frequently they are manned by one alone, with his native attendants. The natives with whom he trades live in the adjacent country, and are coming and going all the time. In Central Africa it is customary for these traders to stay on the field about three years, and then to return home for a rest. Some of the trading stations are improved by their occupants, and made quite neat and attractive. Some of them are the beginnings of what will become the Chicagos and Pittsburgs of the Orient.

The progress in methods of transportation is one of the most marvellous instances of the disappearance of the last strongholds of ignorance and sloth. In 1873 it took Cameron three years to march from the Upper Congo to the West Coast. That trip can now be made in one week. The universal pack-animal for centuries was the African himself. He carried on his head all the goods for the markets, and furnished the power for propelling the canoes. How slowly affairs in Africa moved under such circumstances can be imagined. The transportation of heavy articles and machinery was impossible. But the advent of steam changed all this. There are now about fifty steamboats on the Congo, some of them with a tonnage of 250 tons, and making fifteen miles an hour against the current of the river. The other rivers are being similarly supplied.

Then, the most stupendous railway plans are on foot. The war in the Transvaal has interrupted the progress of the great transcontinental line from the Mediterranean to the Cape; but already about half of its 5,000 miles is completed. The French are building a line across the desert of Sahara. Around the cataracts of the Congo the Belgians have built one whose stock recently stood at 4,000 on the Bourse of Brussels, the par value being at 100. The British line from Mombasa on the East Coast to Uganda is nearly completed. This will be the most important feeder to the Cape to Cairo line. The Portuguese have a good line in Angola. The Germans are building two lines, one in the east, the other in the west, of the continent. The French have one in Senegal, and one projected to the north of the Congo. The British have one in Sierra Leone, and several at the Cape. An American, Mr. Mohun, of Virginia, is engaged in constructing an east and west transcontinental telegraph

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line under Belgian auspices. Two independent cables operate on the coasts, and the telephone has reached the far interior. There will be, in the near future, an immense demand from Africa for rails and all sorts of railway equipment. The building of these lines will stimulate every industry, and the land will take on new life.

It is probable that the development of Africa will be the work of organized corporations and governments rather than of individuals and small companies. The conditions require united effort in order to accomplish the large ends desired. There will be massed together, in different undertakings, great numbers of native laborers who will require the intelligent and sympathetic oversight of capable foremen. The plantations will be worked, like the great industrial enterprises of America, by the association of large numbers of men. Concessions will be much more easily obtained by large corporations than by private persons. The aggregations of capital already in corporate hands in Europe and America will find it practicable to operate these concessions, and "Soudan Central" stock will be as well known in the financial world as any one of our great trunk lines.

In the service of these corporations there will be room for the exercise of the most splendid talents; and the opportunity to seek to preserve the best qualities of the individual, while utilizing the principle of coöperation to the fullest extent, will be appreciated by the wisest of our generation. It is true that there is no incentive to effort such as that given to individuals under the spur of necessity, and no motive for the advancement of any country or people stronger than the knowledge that one reaps fully what he sows. Where the aggregated efforts of many are to take the place of the separate forces of the individual colonist, as in Africa, the utmost exertion is needed to quicken the sense of responsibility, and to maintain a high standard of personal efficiency. It ought to be the policy of the companies operating in that new land to secure as agents men of exceptional ability, of the strictest probity, of broad education, and of high attainments; remembering that these men are laying the foundations of the future of a whole continent. Undeviating adherence to this policy will make every white man in Africa what he ought to be — a torchlight of civilization. The white men in Africa for the next fifty years are to build for "millions yet unborn." What unparalleled privileges are theirs!

It is interesting to consider the exact means by which the white control and direction of Africa will be carried out. For a long time it has been debated whether the Caucasian can live and labor in Africa at

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all. When Mr. Henry M. Stanley took the affirmative side of this question at one of the meetings of the British Royal Geographical Society he was met by the warmest opposition. But the fact that Africa is to be a white man's land is now a foregone conclusion. The way in which this will be practically accomplished is interesting, and carries us back to some geographical facts. In brief, the high, mountainous, healthful, and invigorating parts of Africa are on the slopes of the mountain ranges and on the watersheds of the great rivers; these regions being distributed all over the continent, instead of massed together in any one part. In these regions the Caucasian can live and labor. From them he will govern and direct all the rest.

There will be maintained in these parts great industrial training schools, where the best of the natives will be trained to act as directors of industries in the lower river valleys and the alluvial littoral. The telegraph, the telephone, and other modern means of quick communication will be used to keep in close contact with these men and their work. All the results of medical and sanitary progress will be invoked to assist in this task of holding the land for its rulers. Some of the Africans may show special aptitude for higher positions, and to a limited extent they will be given opportunities to fill them; but for the most part they will constitute the laboring class, and will thus help where they are best fitted. With ice factories, electric fans, water-works, scientific plumbing and sanitation, and all the accompanying means of making life comfortable which will follow the development of Africa's natural riches, the Caucasian will be able to live and prosper in the wisely selected parts of the continent not only in safety, but in great comfort and happiness, and from these central stations to operate the whole of Africa.

The profitable and pleasant features of life in prospect in Africa during this century will not be confined to commerce and industry. In science, religion, architecture, government, education, and all other phases of life, the freshness of the conditions presents the same unique opportunities. The man of science will find the most delightful and absorbing occupation. The botany, the geology, the entomology, a large part of the zoology, the meteorology, the mineralogy, and the physical geography of the continent need to be studied and written. Travellers have rarely been able to do satisfactory work in this line owing to their transitory movements. I lived for two years near a village of those remarkable little people, the African Pygmies, a study of whom would afford the anthropologist the keenest delight. The ethnical questions presented in

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Africa are of the most far-reaching kind, and carry one at once into the most difficult problems of evolution, derivation, comparative anatomy, and archæology. Where, for example, did the Pygmies come from? Why are there races, in the very centre of the continent, whose light color, aquiline features, noble mien, and high intelligence suggest that they are the remnant of some vastly superior race?

In medicine, there is a world of new work awaiting the investigator. The sleeping sickness, fevers, malaria, and contagious diseases are to be studied, and their ravages checked. A skilful practitioner will be able to make a fortune and do an immeasurable amount of good by treating the natives alone. The medical man gains the good-will of the natives as no one else can. Then there are many plants and herbs whose medicinal properties could be examined, no doubt to the enrichment of the pharmacopœia, and possibly to the benefit of all mankind. The herbs in use among the natives would alone form a profitable study.

The practical scientist will be in great demand in the development of the industries of the country, since science has come to play so important a part in the ordinary operations of manufacture and production. Thus the application of chemistry to the mining industry, especially in the extraction of gold by the use of cyanides, saves in South Africa millions of dollars that formerly were wasted. Especially will the electrical expert and the civil engineer find ceaseless employment. Indeed, the room for practical scientists in Africa is boundless.

The work to be done in the spheres of education and religion is so vast as to need more detailed mention than is possible here. The whole land is beginning to be filled with schools, missions, colleges, and industrial training establishments; but the need is immeasurably greater than the supply. A word of warning can be spoken here. What the African needs is not so much the higher refinements of education as the simple rudiments thoroughly drilled into him, with the emphasis on the manual training. He requires to be taught to work, and to work hard, with skill and intelligence; to be taught to save, to accumulate property, to build homes, to live at peace, and to work with and for the white man on terms of good-will and friendly coöperation. Above all, rivalries and jealousies between different denominations are to be deprecated. The harm done by such conditions is more than the good done by most well-meaning enthusiasts. The Christian religion never profits in barbarous countries by the zeal of the propagandist or the energy of the proselytizer. The African will ask: Why all this confusion, if all that the white man says is true? Let each denomination have its clearly

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defined sphere, and let the war of creeds come after the essentials have been believed, if at all.

One of the most promising and least appreciated opportunities is in the field of architecture. Where new cities are to be built from the beginning, the chance to build wisely and beautifully according to a well-arranged plan ought not to be neglected. The student of geography and natural resources can tell where the great cities must come, and therein is a magnificent work to be done in laying out broadly the lines for the future. So much colonial architecture is crude and inconsiderate of the future that the various governments ought to see to it that the interests of future generations are secured in this matter. The city of Washington owes much of its beauty to the wise and far-seeing conception of its great founder. Let no African cities grow up by helter-skelter aggregation, or force the inhabitants of the future to "follow in the footsteps of the calf," when a few simple precautions can insure the outlines of artistic beauty and urban convenience for ages. Let the buildings be easily capable of addition, or of displacement, and wherever possible let them be monumental. If Egyptian architecture could leave the pyramids for thousands of years the wonder of the world, cannot the Teutonic race equal them in the grandeur and permanence of its structures in the same land? With all our wonderful advance much of the architecture of America is of the mushroom kind. Staff, stucco, and cement form too great a temptation to our people.

The most serious question, from the point of view of the lover of constitutional or republican government, is the fact that so much of Africa seems likely to remain under the powerful hands of strongly intrenched empires. With the disappearance of the South African Republic and the Orange Free State, Liberia alone is left as the representative of our form of government in Africa. It is true that France owns the most territory there; but the French form of colonial administration is not home rule. There is, however, this important fact about the relations of the colonies and their home governments. The progress of liberal ideas has been such of late years that the most monarchical European powers strive to make their colonists as free as possible, so as to retain their affection and loyalty. The American Revolution taught Europe an immemorial lesson on this subject, and the wisest statesmen of that continent are seeking to profit by it. They must do this or lose them all some day. England may conquer the Transvaal now, but fifty years hence a revolt in Cape Colony by her own sons would deprive her of every foot of territory from the Cape to Alexandria. Europe

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must rule Africa wisely, or some day the story of Hannibal will be revived by some white son of a new Hamilcar. Then woe betide the Romes of that day! There is another safeguard in the fact that Africa is so subject to international complications. Oppression in one colony will lead to migration to another. England cannot afford to incur the ill will of Germany when the territories of each are contiguous. It is not merely the Briton, but the white man, that is to govern Africa. The lessons that America would fain teach her mother-country may be taught her by force in Africa.

The subject of the relations of the white and black races in the future of Africa is the most important one just now. On the part of the natives of that land it is absolutely necessary to their very existence that they recognize the coming domination of the foreigner, and be willing to submit to it cheerfully. This must be their attitude, or they will disappear before it. Some writers are disposed to think that they will gradually be exterminated as the American Indian. But between these two peoples there are essential differences amounting to a refutation of this supposition. The Indian occupied a temperate zone, which was especially fitted for the settlement of the Caucasian, and had to get out of his way. The case is different in Africa. The negro is a necessity to the development of three-fifths of the continent, and is the white man's most valuable assistant in that work. Moreover, the negro, unlike the Indian, will work, and really likes to work, under the white man, when at all justly treated. The negro has been in contact with the white man for ages, and has never yet disappeared under that contact, whether in America or Africa. The mere fact that the negro now occupies the land formerly owned by the Indian in the Southern States of America is enough of itself to illustrate this truth.

There will probably be a concentration of the negro in the tropical parts of Africa, as the rest of the land is taken up by the newcomers; but there he will remain, for it will be to the interest of the Caucasian to keep him there. In the building of the Congo Railway the experiment of introducing Chinese as manual laborers was made, and hundreds of them were imported. Nearly every one of them succumbed, and it was found that the white man himself stood the climate better than the Chinese. The road was completed by negroes from the West Coast under the supervision of Belgians, Dutch, and Italians. When the negro finally understands the irresistible character of the ingress of the European he will submit, as he has always done in such cases, and then he will find that such a course is for his own best interests. The task

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will remain for the white man to utilize him for the benefit of all concerned.

This will test the wisdom of the dominant race to the highest degree. In the first place, the experience of the Southern States of America ought to be studied, that the mistakes made there may be avoided. The negroes must clearly see from the first that their power in politics as a unit is gone. Only the very best of them ought to be allowed to participate in the government, and then only to a limited extent. No sentimental ideas on the subject of social equality ought to be allowed. Each race must keep to its own social lines. Miscegenation must be forbidden; the whites must take their own wives with them, and let the African women alone. The natives must be secured in their homes, property, lives, and liberties, and in the enjoyment of a reasonable amount of local political freedom. Especially ought those hereditary chieftains who are humane and just in their rule to be given a limited amount of authority over their tribes in conformity with the general suzerainty of the white government. The employment of native labor ought to be hedged about with suitable regulations, so as to prevent the abuse of the employees or the unfair disposition of the question of wages. The negro is disposed by nature to look upon the white as his superior, and it is only when he fails to act as such that the white loses that position of influence. Sir Harry Johnston has truly said that the first requisite in dealing with the African is to be a gentleman. The savage is quick to make distinctions, and the white man will do well to note the fact. With such guiding principles in the great task that lies before him in the land of romance and story, the ever-victorious Caucasian can look forward with the most pleasant anticipations to the development of Africa.

S. P. Verner.

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WRITERS IN THE NOVEMBER FORUM.

MR. WALTER S. ALLEN was born in New Bedford, Mass., and graduated from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Boston, in 1879. Studied at the University of Leipzig, and taught for three years at the Institute of Technology. Was the first Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Gas and Electric Light Commissioners. Acted as Secretary of the Special Committee appointed by the Massachusetts Legislature on the Relations of the Street Railway Companies and the Municipalities. Was Secretary and Executive Officer of the Board of Paris Exposition Managers of Massachusetts, and represented that State at the Paris Exposition of 1900, besides being one of the United States delegates to the Tramway Congress at Paris. Has studied municipal questions for many years, and has made several trips to Europe for this purpose. Has written on these subjects for the National Municipal League, the American Academy of Political and Social Science, "Municipal Affairs," and "Municipal Journal and Engineer," besides compiling a large number of official reports.

MR. KARL BLIND, born at Mannheim, Germany, Sept. 4, 1826, was educated at Heidelberg and Bonn Universities. Active for German union and freedom, was imprisoned in Bavaria and Baden before the Revolution of 1848, in which he took a leading part, at Karlsruhe. After participating in the Republican rising led by Hecker, was arrested at Strasburg on a false charge of being implicated in the Paris insurrection in June, and was transported to Switzerland. Was leader of the second Republican rising in the Black Forest, and fought at Staufen. A prisoner of war, was sentenced to eight years' imprisonment, but was liberated in 1849. Was member of the Embassy at Paris of the Democratic Governments of Baden and Rhenish Palatinate. After the overthrow of Ledru-Rollin's rising for the protection of the Roman Republic, was proscribed from France. Carried on a Democratic and National propaganda from England. Coöperated with Garibaldi, Mazzini, and other European leaders. Has published numerous essays on politics, archæology, history, mythology, philosophy, and ancient German and Norse literature.

MR. PRICE COLLIER was born in 1860. Received his early education at Geneva and Leipzig. Graduated from Harvard University in 1882 and studied in the Harvard Divinity School. Was for nine years a Unitarian minister. Served through the Spanish-American war as a naval officer. Is the author of "Mr. Picket Pin and His Friends," "America and the Americans from a French Point of View," and a volume of essays. Has been a frequent contributor to English and American periodicals.

MR. CHARLES ALBERT CRAMPTON was born at Davenport, Iowa, in 1858. Graduated from the University of Michigan in 1882. In 1883 was appointed assistant chemist in the Department of Agriculture. Has been chief chemist in the Internal Revenue Bureau since 1890. Had charge of the scientific work in connection with the provisions of the McKinley Tariff Act, and has served upon Commissions appointed by the Secretary of the Treasury for the consideration of questions relating to sugar duties. Has contributed extensively to the literature of agricultural and food chemistry in chemical journals and Government publications.

HON. CHARLES DENBY, born in Virginia in 1830, was educated at Georgetown University and at the Virginian Military Institute, graduating from the latter in 1850. Was Lieutenant-Colonel of the Forty-Second Regiment, Indiana Volunteers, and Colonel of the Eighteenth Regiment, Indiana Volunteers. In 1885 Mr. Denby was appointed Minister to China, and remained at Peking in that position until July, 1898. Was a member of the Commission to investigate the conduct of the war with Spain, and also of the Philippine Commission.

HON. MARTIN DODGE was born in 1851 at Auburn, Ohio. Was educated at Hiram College and Buchtel College, Akron, Ohio. Spent several years in the study and practice of law, and afterward in real estate and building operations. In 1891 represented Cuyahoga County in the General Assembly of Ohio, and for three successive terms was elected to the House of Representatives. Became a member of the State Senate in 1897, and was reëlected in 1899. Has been a constant advocate and supporter of road improvement, and is the author of several measures in the interest of

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better roads and cheaper transportation. In 1893 was appointed Chairman of the Ohio Road Commission, and in 1898 Director of the Office of Public Road Inquiries for a temporary service of six months, during which time he represented the Government at the Omaha Exposition. The object-lessons and experiments which he made at that time were exhibited at Paris as one of the features of the American Road Exhibit. Was lately recalled by President McKinley to take charge of the Road Office again as Director.

MR. A. MAURICE LOW was born in London, and educated in London and Austria, but has spent the best years of his life in the United States. Has been for several years the Washington correspondent of the Boston "Globe" and the London "Daily Chronicle." Writes the monthly article on "American Affairs" in the London "National Review." This is perhaps the most extensively quoted regular magazine contribution in the world, as, in addition to the British and American Press using extracts from it, it is regularly commented upon by the leading French and German newspapers and reviews. Mr. Low has contributed to the principal American and English magazines and reviews, and has an established reputation on both sides of the Atlantic as a writer on political and international affairs.

MR. W. C. JAMESON REID was born in 1872 at Shanghai, where his father was stationed in the service of the English Government. After travelling through Europe, he journeyed across Siberia by the caravan route to Peking in 1893. In 1894 took part in an exploring expedition in Eastern Tibet. His later travels have been in British Columbia in 1896, in the Philippines in 1897, in Mexico and Central America in 1898, in Tibet and Siam in 1899, and again in China and the Philippines in 1900. Has published, in addition to many newspaper and magazine articles, two books on Tibet and one on political matters in the East.

MR. HAROLD REMINGTON graduated from the University of Michigan in 1888. Took a post-graduate course in economics and political philosophy. Went to Washington as assistant to Prof. Henry C. Adams when the latter was organizing the statistical department of the Interstate Commerce Commission. Has been a practising attorney at the Cleveland bar for the last ten years. Was appointed referee in bankruptcy for the Cleveland district in 1898.

MR. WILLARD SAULSBURY was born in 1861 and educated at the University of Virginia. His father was Attorney-General of the State, a United States senator, and for twenty years Chancellor of the State. Is a prominent and successful lawyer at the Wilmington bar and has twice been elected President of the Bar Association. Is a director in financial, street railway, and other concerns. Is Chairman of the Democratic State Committee, and was Chairman of the Delaware Delegation to the Chicago Convention in 1896, voting there with the minority. In 1899 received the unanimous Democratic vote for United States senator. Throughout the whole of the legislative session of 1901 the Democrats unanimously voted for him on every ballot for one of the existing senatorial vacancies.

PRESIDENT CHARLES FRANKLIN THWING, born at New Sharon, Maine, in 1853, was graduated from Harvard in 1876, and from Andover Theological Seminary in 1879. In 1890 became President of Western Reserve University and Adelbert College and allied institutions in Cleveland, Ohio. President Thwing is the author of several works on American colleges and college life.

MR. SAMUEL PHILLIPS VERNER is a son of a former Comptroller-General of South Carolina. Graduated with the highest honors from the University of that State in 1892. Entered the service of the Southern Railway. In 1895 went out to Central Africa as business manager for the Mission Board of the Southern Presbyterian Church. Has founded several new stations, discovered a tribe of the Batwa Pygmies, and made many interesting explorations. Brought back to the Smithsonian Institution the largest collection of African ethnological specimens ever seen in this country. Is especially interested in studying the relation between the American negro and the aboriginal African. To test the capacity of the latter race has recently brought to America two little ex-cannibals from the Lualaba River to be educated here. Has contributed articles on African affairs to various American, English, and Belgian publications. Is now preparing for publication a book on "Pioneering in Central Africa."

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